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OUTLINES OF
EUROPEAN HISTORY
SECTION II

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW IMPRESSION

SECTION II
FROM THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES
TO THE PRESENT TIME

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs"
Tennyson.

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MATRI
AMANTISSIMUS

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PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

THE study of European History as a whole has long been known in the schools of the Continent and the United States of America : but it has only lately been introduced into England. It must be still considered as in the experimental stage so far as methods are concerned, though few will doubt that the subject in some form or other must ultimately be recognized as forming an important part in any scheme of education. It is true of history, though not perhaps of all studies, that the whole is greater and better than its parts. The greatest prize that awaits the student of history is not a knowledge of antiquarian detail, but the wide outlook over all the ages, and an understanding of the chief phases through which civilization has passed and of the chief influences that have moulded it.

This Pisgah vision comes to most, if it comes at all, after long study. Is it possible to attain to it by any more summary process ? Can these general views be usefully put before a young student ? Is it possible to teach General European History as a school or college subject ? The fact that I have ventured to write this little book shows that I answer these questions in the affirmative. The ordinary text-book of English History requires generalizations which are as difficult to make as those which are implied in a sketch of European History. The charge of superficiality is not necessarily just in either case, for, as Archbishop Whately has told us : " It is a fallacy to mistake general truths for superficial truths, or a knowledge of the leading propositions of a subject for a

superficial knowledge." And a more general survey of history has this advantage over merely national history, that it implies a far truer notion of the nature of European progress by eliminating national egotism and showing the interaction of state on state, and the mutual obligations of all the national groups into which the human family is divided.

It appears then certain that ever-increasing attention will be given not merely to European History, but also to the vaster subject of World History, of which European History is only a part. It must come to be recognized as a necessary part of the equipment of every thinking man that he should know the chief features of the human record, and should realize that history is "one and indivisible." Lord Acton, in his report to the Syndics of the University Press concerning the project of the Cambridge Modern History, wrote: "By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul." This high ideal, thus eloquently expressed, is one that all who teach the subject may well have before their eyes as one to be aimed at, if never attained. It will be approximated to the more closely as the teacher more clearly feels that there is a meaning in history, that the story of the centuries is not merely "full of sound and fury signifying nothing," but shows civilization making for a goal that grows clearer as the ages pass.

In the early editions of this book the History of England and Great Britain was not included. I have come to see that its exclusion was a mistake, and in the present edition I have included chapters on the history of these islands. I have tried to keep the scale of these chapters the same as for other countries. That is not the method always or, perhaps, usually followed in Histories of Europe, or World Histories, as the Germans call them. Often the national history is recounted at full length, and merely a side glance is thrown on other countries in a few slight additional chapters. That is, for

instance, the method employed in Jaeger's well-known *Weltgeschichte*. The result seems to me quite unsatisfactory. One great value of General History is to correct the narrowness of nationalism by suggesting a more comprehensive point of view ; but the treatment that I allude to results, in many cases, only in an intensification of nationalism. The object of our study is to see history "steadily, and to see it whole" ; and I have found it interesting in writing the British chapters to decide what space should be given to our national history. Events sometimes assume a quite different importance when viewed from the European point of view.

I have been doubtful as to whether I should not include a chapter or chapters on the History of America. The book aims, indeed, at being only a history of Europe ; but "Europe" may be taken as describing rather a type of civilization than a geographical area. As Athens has been called the most "western" of the cities of Europe, so it is hardly a paradox to hold that the United States of America are the most "European" part of the earth's surface. However, conditions of space have in the end determined me to exclude America from a book which aims above all things at being short.

There are many ways of presenting European history. I admire heartily Lavissee's *General View of the Political History of Europe*, which tells the story in 170 pages (I refer to the English translation), in which personal names and dates are very rarely introduced, and the political development of Europe is presented in a way full of suggestion and challenge, but, as it were, anonymously. Not less welcome is Mr. Marvin's *The Living Past*, which pushes to one side (though not quite off the field) wars and dynasties and politics, and finds a clue to the mass of European history "in the growth of a common humanity and of organized knowledge applied to social needs." But, much as I value these books and others of a similar kind, it seems to me that such generalizations require a preliminary knowledge of the facts of European history such as I have tried to give here. The opening words of Herodotus still ring true as a statement

of a *part* of the aims of the teacher of history. "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful nations of the Greeks and the barbarians from losing their due meed of glory."

A. J. GRANT.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY,
October, 1918.

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OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

PART III

THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER I

France and the Italian Wars

Charles VIII. invades Italy	1494
League of Cambrai	1508
Battle of Marignano	1515
Battle of Pavia	1525
Sack of Rome	1527
Abdication of Charles V.	1556

WE have seen that England, France, and Spain were the strong states of the period. They were vigorous and united under their respective monarchies, while Germany and Italy were divided and, in consequence, weak. Of the two, Italy was certainly far the weaker and the richer. Skill in commerce and industrial methods had made Italy rich, while her literature and her art made her famous above all nations of Europe. She was beautiful, rich, and almost defenceless: her neighbours were covetous and powerful: and the natural results followed.

Of the strong nations, France was the nearest and the strongest. Charles VIII. had succeeded, on the death of Louis XI., in 1483. The new king was of an adventurous and romantic temperament, and he desired to perform some great exploit. He had certain claims upon Naples, and he used these as a pretext for the invasion of Italy. He crossed the Alps, and marched through Italy in uninterrupted triumph. Milan, Florence, Rome, and Naples were all entered almost without a struggle; the Italians had nothing that they could oppose to his splendidly equipped army. But this, the first of many French

expeditions into Italy, was to be typical of nearly all. To conquer was easy; to hold what was conquered was difficult, and proved in the end impossible. The subtle Italians found in diplomacy and intrigue weapons with which they could meet the force of France. The one principle which seems to have guided their constantly shifting policy was, that all should unite against the power that was for the moment the strongest.

So, while Charles VIII. was dreaming that Italy was conquered and at his disposal, an alliance was made against him in the north of Italy, under the guidance of Charles VIII. the Venetians. Charles VIII. found a retreat necessary, and, though he fought his way back to France, his conquests passed away from him almost as quickly as they had been made.

It is during the course of these Italian wars thus inaugurated by Charles VIII. of France, that the principle of "the balance of power" begins to emerge. The great Powers of Europe tacitly adopted as a principle that no one of them should gain an increase of territory without the others receiving compensating advantages. If any one did gain such an increase, the others as a rule entered into an active alliance against it. The working of this idea dominates European diplomacy until the Great War of 1914.

In 1498 Louis XII. succeeded Charles VIII., and the temptation of Italy was again too strong for him. It was not against Naples this time, but against Milan that the attack was primarily directed, for Louis XII. could make out some sort of claim upon the Milanese territory. Diplomatic intrigue prepared the way for invasion, and, when the invasion came, again it seemed at first irresistible. Milan was occupied and annexed to France. Then Naples beckoned the invader on. It turned out that both France and Spain had claims on Naples, and if France invaded in disregard of them, she would certainly find Spain as her antagonist. The difficulty was avoided by a treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Granada, 1500), whereby the two crowned heads agreed to share the spoil of Naples. European history does not know any more immoral

agreement. The King of Naples could make no resistance to the alliance of France and Spain, and the territory of Naples was occupied without resistance. But, when the crowned robbers came to share the spoil, they quickly quarrelled, and soon war broke out between France and Spain. It is a war full of romance, but the result alone can be given. The French were, in the end, driven out of Naples, and soon possessed no territory in Italy except Milan.

An incident followed, singularly characteristic of the unscrupulous policy of the time. We have seen already how rich, prosperous, and well-governed Venice was. She ^{The League} possessed extensive territories on the mainland, ^{of Cambrai.} and these were viewed with jealous eyes by her neighbours—the Empire on the north-east, the estates of the Church to the south, and France established in the duchy of Milan. The various Powers had no real grievance against Venice, but her wealth and her weakness were sufficient, and in 1508, France and the Empire, Spain, Florence, and the Papacy joined in the League of Cambrai for the spoliation and partition of Venice.

Venice could make no effective resistance against the great forces which were put into the field against her. Her troops were defeated, and her general was taken prisoner : ^{Defeat and} the extinction of the Venetian Republic seemed ^{recovery of} close at hand. But Venice was saved by her own ^{Venice.} statesmanship and diplomatic skill, and by the rivalries and quarrels of her opponents. For, first, she made no effort to keep her subjects on the mainland subordinate to her against their will, and they soon contrasted the brutality of their conquerors with the milder rule of Venice. Still more important was the understanding which Venice made with the pope, Julius II. He was one of the strongest and ^{Julius II.} most noteworthy popes of the period, free from the vices which disgraced some of the popes of the century, vigorous in action, far-seeing in his policy. But if we could follow his career closely, we should see that the spiritual interests of the Catholic Church were not the uppermost thought in his mind. He was a patron of art, a great builder, and, above all, an ambitious ruler of the states of the Church. Venice had ceded to him much of the territory which he had

coveted upon the northern frontier of the papal states. His aim in joining the alliance against Venice was achieved, and now he had no desire to see France established as a strong power in the north of Italy. France, the strong, and not Venice, the weak, suddenly became the enemy of all the Italian states, and Julius II. organized the Holy League for the expulsion of the hated foreigners from the soil of Italy. Under the guidance of the pope, Venice, Spain, the Empire, Florence, and even England joined in the Holy League. These sudden kaleidoscopic changes of diplomacy are characteristic of Italy in the sixteenth century.

The French king, Louis XII., did not wait to be attacked. He despatched an army into Italy, and, at first, gained victories ; but then the tide of battle turned, and the French troops were driven out of all that they had conquered in Italy. History has often seen this rapid flow and ebb of the French power in the Italian peninsula. The enemies of France were not satisfied with the expulsion of the French from Italy, they determined to invade, and, perhaps, to partition France. Spain, England, and the Empire joined in this enterprise. But the alliance proved as unstable as other alliances of the time, and Louis XII. was able to break it up, and conclude a fairly advantageous peace for France just before his death in 1515.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I., young and enthusiastic, with some military talent and great ambition to make for himself a name in war. Undeterred by the failures of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., he took up again the enterprise of the conquest of Italy. Spain, the Empire, and the Papacy, allied to resist him ; he could count upon Venice as an ally, but upon no other. Yet his first effort was brilliantly, overwhelmingly successful. He crossed the Alps, and at Marignano, near Milan, with the help of the Venetians, he utterly routed the enemy (1515). It was for many reasons a battle of great and long-enduring consequence. It fired the king's ardour for military enterprise, and all Europe believed that a great soldier had appeared. Moreover, the victory was a day of great glory for the French soldiers. The army of Francis I., had been a

European
league
against
France.

Francis I.
wins the
battle of
Marignano.

genuinely national army, and ranged against them were the Swiss mercenaries, esteemed the best soldiers in Europe and almost invincible. If France could produce soldiers capable of overthrowing the terrible Swiss, all things seemed possible to her. An important treaty followed the battle. By the "Concordat of Bologna" Francis I. made terms with the Papacy. Certain money payments which France had refused of late were again to flow into the coffers of the Papacy, and in return the appointment of Church dignitaries was (with certain unimportant reservations) given into the hands of the king. The pope gained money, the king gained power. Henceforth the King of France controlled the Church in France almost as completely as Henry VIII. controlled the English Church after the Reformation.

But now there came into the European arena a combatant who was destined to be the lifelong rival of Francis I. Charles, the son of Joanna of Spain and Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian, had come to the throne of Spain in 1516; and as King of Spain he was one of the most important powers in Europe; for he had behind him the warlike population of Spain, the commerce and the industry of the Low Countries (the Netherlands), and the vast prestige which flowed from his titular possession of undefined tracts in the New World. He was loyally obeyed and efficiently served, and was second to no Power in Europe, not even to Henry VIII. of England or Francis I. of France. But in 1519 a vaster prize came within his reach. The Emperor Maximilian died. The Empire was in theory elective. In practice it had been for some generations hereditary, and unless something extraordinary occurred, Charles of Spain would become emperor, and would add to his already vast dominions the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, and the glorious title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

Francis I. determined to dispute the election. His efforts were vain. Charles of Spain became the Emperor Charles V., and ruled over a greater expanse of territory than any European ruler had ever called his. But these vast territories and vague pretensions were no real addition to the power of Charles V. He was stronger as

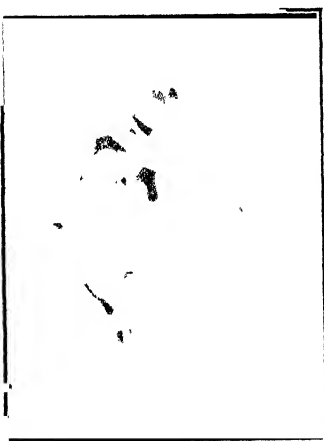
The disputed imperial election.

Charles of Spain than as the Emperor Charles V.; and his election had brought upon him the unquenchable jealousy of Francis I.

We will follow the rivalry of these great potentates to the end: but we must note here that soon after the date we have reached, the Protestant Reformation began in Germany, and henceforward the struggle between Charles V. and Francis I. Charles and Francis is curiously blended with the bitter strife of Catholicism and Protestantism. The mixture of religious motives with political and dynastic ambition is

what gives the middle of the sixteenth century its most marked characteristics. The strands are constantly and closely intertwined; but here for the sake of clearness we must separate them.

War between Francis and Charles came soon after the imperial election; of Pavia. and Charles managed to win over Henry VIII. of England to his side. Worse still for Francis, he was betrayed in the crisis of the war by the Duke of Bourbon, the greatest of the French nobles; and his treason threw open the south-eastern approach into the heart of France.



Charles V.

King of Spain, 1516; emperor, 1519; abdicated, 1556; died, 1558.

But the attack was beaten off, and in 1525, Francis I., still full of martial ambition, led a French army into Italy, hoping to repeat the triumphs which had made his name famous just ten years before. He took Milan, and he laid siege to Pavia; but then the Duke of Bourbon came up with a great army which had been raised in Germany. A furious battle followed, in which Francis I. showed no lack of personal courage, but he was utterly defeated and taken prisoner. Since the battle of Agincourt (one hundred and ten years before), no such disaster had fallen upon France.

Yet the disaster did not turn out so completely ruinous as had been expected. Francis I. was taken to Madrid and kept a prisoner there until he consented to sign a treaty which, if carried out, would have ruined France ; but he repudiated the treaty as soon as he was free, declaring that it had been extorted by violence, and the war went on. The principle of balance



The Capture of Francis I. at the Battle of Pavia.

(From Joh. Ludw. Gottfried's "*Historische Chronika*.")

King Francis stands over his fallen horse and still continues to fight. He subsequently surrendered to Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples.

of power turned now against Charles. He seemed so completely in the ascendant, that the other powers of Europe joined against him. France, Venice, Florence, England, were ranged against Charles, under the nominal presidency of the pope, in what is sometimes known as the Second Holy League.

The pope, Clement VII., paid quickly and dearly for the part he had played against Spain. The imperial army after the victory of Pavia remained in Italy, but it was unpaid, for

victory had brought little money into Charles's coffers. In a half mutinous condition, it resolved to pay itself by the plunder of some rich city. Florence at first was aimed at, **The sack of Rome, 1527.** but then it turned upon Rome; and the city, almost without a garrison, fell with hardly a struggle into the hands of the motley army of Charles. Rome never suffered so cruelly from any of the many barbarian occupations which it had suffered during the early Middle Ages. The city was systematically plundered. The pope became a prisoner in the power of Charles, and was thus made a pliant instrument of his policy.

The sack of Rome caused a great sensation in Europe and had a great influence on the course of affairs. It is the last really important incident in the contest of France and Spain for Italy. The Reformation in Germany soon began to be the great question with which Charles V. had to deal, and his attention was in consequence chiefly directed to Germany rather than Italy. But it will be best to follow the rivalry of the two great Powers until it reaches at last a long truce in 1559.

France was exhausted and the military ambition of Francis I. was sated. While he lived there was never again much energy thrown into the war with the Empire. In 1529 **Renewal of the war.** he accepted a peace (the Peace of Cambrai); but new causes of quarrel soon arose, and rival claims in Italy were chiefly accountable for the renewal of the war. The most Christian King of France (for such was the official title which all Kings of France bore) allied himself with the Protestants of Germany and the Sultan of Turkey, the greatest of all "heretics," though France was at the same time persecuting Protestant heretics at home. There was no great incident, however, in the war; and, from weariness, both sides accepted the Truce of Nice in 1538. It was to have lasted at least ten years, but in four years a dispute as to the Duchy of Milan again led to a war. There was fighting of an indecisive kind. We need not follow it. The only point we need seize is that the war lacks altogether the fierce energy and the decisive events of its earlier stages, and that this was due partly to the age of the two chief combatants, but mainly to the fact that Germany

was convulsed by the Reformation movement, and Charles had to give most of his attention there.

Francis I. died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Henry II. The young king sought to profit by the German entanglements of his older rival and renewed the war. The French occupied Metz (the great frontier fortress in Lorraine) and Charles sent his armies

Henry II.,
King of
France.

against it. Success seemed certain, but the town was stubbornly defended, and the emperor's forces were beaten off. This defeat contributed to form in Charles's mind a resolve to abdicate his vast powers. Since the Roman Emperor Diocletian there had been no such notable case of any ruler willingly withdrawing himself from the burden and the glory of rule. Failing health, political and military disappointments, and a desire to see and perhaps to supervise his son's first efforts in statesmanship—all had a share in inducing him to take the step. He abdicated his imperial title in 1556, and threw off the rest of his powers piecemeal, retired to a monastery and lived there until his death in 1558. He was succeeded in the Empire by his brother Ferdinand, but his son Philip II. inherited the Spanish crown and all that belonged to it in Spain, in the Netherlands, and in the New World.

Philip II. inherited his father's contest with France and carried it on for a few years. But as religious questions became more and more important, this contest between the two great Catholic powers was unreasonable. Both France and Spain gained

Accession of
Philip II. of
Spain.

victories; and then in 1559 there came the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis which marks a really important stage in European development. The French failure in Italy stood confessed, for Spain retained in her hands both Milan and Naples. France gained on her north-eastern frontier the great fortresses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun ("The Three Bishoprics" as they were usually called). A close alliance was to take the place of the contest that had lasted for half a century; and the symbol of this alliance was to be the marriage of Philip (who had just been left free by the death of his wife Queen Mary of England) with Elizabeth the French princess.

The long war had important results beyond the changes

in frontier and the transference of territory. The destinies of Italy were decided during its course; but it is most important to notice that it contributed much to the success of the Reformation movement in Germany to which we must now turn.

Machiavelli's Prince might be read here. *The French Monarchy* (1483-1789), by A. J. Grant; *Armstrong's Charles V.*; *Ranke's History of the Popes*.

CHAPTER II

The Reformation in Germany

Luther denounces Indulgences	1517
Diet of Worms	1521
Battle of Mühlberg	1547
Peace of Augsburg	1555

DURING the latter half of the fifteenth century the Papacy had been little troubled by any dangers, whether political or doctrinal. The popes had become Italian princes; they aimed no longer at the high enterprises of Gregory VII. or Innocent III.; it might seem that the time of great religious enthusiasms had passed away. Even the first rumblings of the storm in Germany did not rouse the Papacy from its lethargy and its secular cares.

Luther came very slowly to hold those opinions whose declaration was destined to introduce a new epoch in European history. He was at first a devout friar; he studied intensely the Bible in the Vulgate Latin translation and the works of S. Augustine, which have so often led men away from the strict lines of Catholic orthodoxy. He had visited Rome in 1510, and had seen how unworthy was the life of the papal city; but it was not until 1517 that he broke out in an attack upon any part of the Catholic organization. In that year Tetzel visited Wittenberg, at the university of which town Luther was Professor of Theology, and his

mission was to sell "indulgences" for the benefit of the building fund of St. Peter's at Rome. The theory of indulgences is an intricate one, but to Luther they seemed a shameful means of making money out of the deluded people, and a declaration that God's forgiveness could be bought for money. His spirit burnt within him, until he denounced Tetzel and his evil traffic. He nailed to the door of Wittenberg Cathedral ninety-five theses or contentions, which he was anxious to maintain against the doctrine of indulgences.

But Luther had no idea that he was the founder of a religious movement which would introduce the greatest of all schisms into Catholic

Luther in conflict with Rome.

Christendom. His nature was conservative and loyal. If the Papacy had treated him with tenderness, a reconciliation was by no means out of the question. The Papacy misunderstood the situation, and demanded abject submission. Luther advanced into a more direct conflict with the traditions of the Catholic Church, until in 1520 a bull of excommunication was launched against him. But this weapon no longer produced the effect which it had done three hundred years before. Luther burnt the bull, and was henceforward in direct conflict with Rome and its organization and ideas. He was summoned next year to a Diet at Worms; but he could not be induced to recant. He had thrown down the gauntlet in a struggle far greater than he knew.

For Germany was prepared to welcome and support the new movement, not indeed universally, but with sufficient energy to give it force and permanence. If we would understand why Luther triumphed, while Wickliffe and Huss had failed, we must remember the changed conditions of the land and of the time. No general European crusade against the new opinions was possible. The



Martin Luther.

Born, 1483; denounces Tetzel, 1517; excommunicated, 1520; died, 1546.

Germany and the Reformation.

two great Catholic powers of France and the Empire were engaged in a bitter war, and were quite unable to sink their differences in order to crush Lutheranism. In Germany, too, though there was not much sign of doctrinal protest against the Papacy before Luther's time, there was widespread irritation with the papal exactions, from which Germany suffered more than any other country in Europe. The Protestant movement, then, in Germany, as elsewhere, joined itself to a striving after national independence. Consider, too, what was the political condition of Germany; how, as a result of the long contest between the Empire and the Papacy, she was utterly without real political unity or a really efficient government of any kind. Had Germany been a state in the sense in which France or Spain or England was a state, the central government would, in the end, have crushed a religious movement which it disliked. But, as we have seen, the emperor had little real authority in Germany. The real power was with the subordinate states, and many of them, for different reasons, joined themselves heartily to the Lutheran movement. Two hundred and fifty years earlier the Papacy had succeeded in breaking up the organization of the Empire, and that victory now contributed not a little to the success of the most dangerous movement that had ever threatened the papal power.

The political disunion of Germany makes it peculiarly difficult to trace the history of the Lutheran movement, and a few years after it had begun it was complicated by a **The peasants' rising in Germany.** social movement of a very important kind. The peasants of Germany were still in a condition of serfdom, bound to the land, and obliged to render many servile duties to their masters. Their actual condition varied very widely. Many were, so far as their material circumstances were concerned, fairly well off. But revolutions usually come when the condition of the people is improving, and the peasants were, moreover, stirred by the preaching of the Lutheran movement, as the English peasants, in the time of Wat Tyler, were by the preaching of Wickliffe. In 1524 they broke out into a fierce revolt, demanding absolute freedom and anticipating a speedy millennium. They found resistance even fiercer than

their rising. The nobles and the empire regarded them with inevitable dislike; but their leaders had hoped for the sympathy of Luther. He feared, however, that the social movement would prejudice his own religious movement; and in the end, he attacked the peasants with cruel invective. The peasants' rising was crushed with great cruelty, and serfdom was re-established in Germany. Lutheranism could not henceforth count on the support of the peasants, and for that reason partly it drew closer to the princes and rulers of Germany.

For some years the Lutheran movement, favoured by the war of Charles with Francis, gained ground rapidly, but in 1530, Charles V. was at last free to act. He had made a temporary peace with Francis I.; his power seemed without rival in Europe; and he declared that the Lutheran sect must be extirpated. The supporters of Lutheranism had a few years before begun to use the name of Protestants, because they had protested against an earlier order of the emperor's. Now, against this threatening danger, the Pro- The Schmal-
testant states joined themselves into the famous kaldic
Schmalkaldic League for mutual support against League.
imperial coercion. Had not the war with Francis been renewed, Charles would have struck an earlier blow against the Protestants; but in 1547 peace with France and the death of Francis I. gave him his opportunity. He entered Germany in 1547 with a large army, and at Mühlberg defeated the army of the Schmalkaldic League, under Prince John Frederick of Saxony. Protestant Germany seemed in the emperor's power. Charles V. was a sincere Catholic, but was too well acquainted with politics to be a fanatic, and he desired to make some peaceful religious settlement of Germany. A great Council of the Church had just been summoned, and it was hoped it would heal the new schism, as the Council of Constance had healed an earlier one. Meanwhile an arrangement should be made which all Germany should accept until the council had met and completed its deliberations. This settlement, called "the Interim," affirmed the unity of the Church under the headship of the pope, and the guardianship of the Holy Spirit, but admitted certain doctrines, such as "Justification by Faith," which were characteristic of Protestantism, while other doubtful points,

such as the marriage of the clergy, were to be left to the decisions of the great council.

The outlook seemed very favourable to Catholicism. The Protestants seemed beaten down, and the emperor had gained a great victory. But dangerous stuff was fermenting under the surface. Germany had not forgotten the teaching of Luther, nor its national aspirations ; nor did the princes and states of Germany desire to be completely subordinated to the Empire.

There were, too, individual grievances against Charles, as well as public and national ones. His own brother, Ferdinand, was quarrelling with him : and a greater and unexpected danger was the jealous ambition of Maurice of Saxony. Maurice was the most important person in Germany. He had contributed very largely to the victory of Mühlberg, and showed ability, both political and military, of a very high order. He was discontented with the results of the victory he had won ; he had hoped for the chief position in Germany, and he had not got it. So he began to intrigue on all sides ; with Henry II. King of France, with Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., with the Protestant princes of Germany. Charles V. was an astute statesman, but he was taken by surprise by his subtle antagonist. In 1552 Maurice rose against Charles ; he seized Augsburg, and very nearly captured the emperor himself at Innsbruck. With great difficulty the emperor managed to escape into Italy. Maurice of Saxony was now, for a time, one of the greatest figures in Europe. But he died in 1553, before his schemes had clearly defined themselves.

Had Charles V. possessed the energy and elasticity of his youth he might now have made a determined effort to retrieve the Peace of his position. But he was feeling old, and fortune, Augsburg. as he said, forsook old men. He made a half-hearted attempt to coerce Germany, and then, in 1555, called a Diet at Augsburg, and accepted the Peace of Augsburg. This peace brings to an end the first phase of the Reformation movement in Germany, and it contains the seeds out of which later troubles sprang. Its conditions must therefore be examined.

First, in matters of religion, each state of the Empire was

to decide for itself. "Cujus regio ejus religio" was the maxim adopted; that is, the government of each state should decide the faith of that state. There were thus to be Catholic and Protestant states; but no religious toleration inside each state. Further, Lutheranism was the only form of Protestantism which was recognized. Calvinism had already become a serious competitor for the allegiance of Protestants, but its existence was ignored by the Peace of Augsburg.

Next, there was the question of property. Great ecclesiastical properties had been secularized, that is, seized by secular powers during the late trouble. Were these to be restored to the Church to which they had originally belonged or not? It was decided that a line should be drawn at the year 1552. All Church property secularized before that date should remain in lay hands, but the rest should be restored to the Church.

So Germany had rest for a time. But neither on the religious nor on the political side, could the Peace of Augsburg be regarded as final. There were still religious enthusiasms and passions, political ambitions and antipathies unsatisfied. Thus the troubles that sprung from the Reformation were by no means over for Germany. Germany ceases for a time to be the great arena of the religious struggle; but half a century later it broke out there in the most terrible form that Europe has known.

Küstlin's Luther; Haüsser's Age of the Reformation; Henderson's History of Germany. The Roman Catholic view of the Reformation will be found in *Janssen's History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER III

Religious Movements in Europe in the Latter
Half of the Sixteenth Century

Calvin goes to Geneva	1536
The Jesuit Order founded	1540
End of the Council of Trent	1563

THE second half of the sixteenth century was profoundly influenced by the religious parties of the time. The wars and the politics of the age do not indeed spring solely from religious controversies; but they are influenced by them at every turn. We must, therefore, cast a glance at the chief religious groups, at the beliefs they held, the policies they followed, and the methods they employed. We will look first at the Protestant side.

We have already seen something of the rise and spread of Lutheranism. Of all the forms of Protestantism which were known on the continent of Europe (omitting that of the reformed English Church as it was organized by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth), Lutheranism was the most conservative. Luther looked with sympathy upon the traditions of Christendom, and it was only the progress of the struggle that had induced him to take up a position so decidedly antagonistic to all that belonged to Rome. On the crucial question of the nature of the Eucharist, he rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, but held by what he called consubstantiation. He denied that the bread and wine of the communion were, in very fact the body and blood of Christ, but he rejected also the view that the communion was a simply commemorative ceremony. Alongside of the bread and wine he believed that the Divine substance existed "as fire enters into the substance of iron"; and this he called consubstantiation. The extremer Protestants soon came to reject this doctrine, almost as decisively as transubstantiation. Another characteristic feature of Lutheranism is its reliance on the power of the State. Luther himself

was full of a sense of subordination to the established powers, and the Lutheran Churches in Germany were put under State protection and State control. Soon after Luther's death, Lutheranism was accused of lifelessness; and energy and initiative had passed over to its rivals in the Protestant camp.

The first of these rivals in point of time was the system which was established under Zwingli's guidance in the Swiss Confederation. But though the Zwinglian movement is interesting, its direct influence was confined to Switzerland, and thus it hardly claims notice here. Zwinglianism was for the most part a franker, more independent, more democratic form of Lutheranism.

Far greater is the importance of Calvinism, which after Calvin and the middle of his influence. the century • becomes clearly the guiding and aggressive force on the Protestant side. Calvin was a Frenchman, born in Picardy in the north of France, and destined at first by his parents for a lucrative post in the service of the Catholic

Church. But he turned from a clerical to a legal career, and while he was pursuing his legal studies at Orleans he embraced Protestant opinions. Then as the government of France was pressing heavily on Protestants, he left the country, and after some time spent among the Protestant communities on the banks of the Rhine, he came and settled at Geneva; and, not without a struggle, became the religious dictator of that city.

The system that he founded became for a century the strongest influence on the Protestantism of Europe. As the

Zwingli.



John Calvin.

Born, 1509; settled in Geneva, 1536; died, 1564.

energy of Lutheranism declined, Calvinism took its place as the representative of Protestant belief in its strongest and most definite form. Calvin himself is a great contrast to Luther. Luther was passionate, emotional, and deficient in logical power. With Calvin all was will and logic; the human feelings counted for little in his life and in his religious system. In 1536, before he came to Geneva, he had written the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and the work, afterwards much expanded, became the foundation of Calvinist doctrine and discipline.

By what characteristics was Calvinism distinguished from Lutheranism? By the logical completeness of its doctrine, in the first place. It started from much the same point as Luther had done; but the system was more thorough-going and there was less desire to conciliate any who still looked at Catholicism with affection. Luther's consubstantiation was rejected equally with Catholic transubstantiation. The communion became a commemorative ceremony by means of which special grace was bestowed. Predestination, or the doctrine of necessity, was the very basis of Calvin's whole system. This was no new doctrine; it was as old as Christianity itself; but it received at Calvin's hands its completest and hardest definition. Next, Calvin's system was distinguished by a special system of Church government. The Church was to be independent of the State, not clinging to it for protection, as was the case with Lutheranism in Germany. The affairs of each Church were to be ruled, not by bishops, but by a body consisting of pastors and laymen, elected by the congregation itself. The democratic element thus entered into Church government; and from the Church passed into the State. Wherever in the sixteenth century Calvinism was strong, it was associated with a movement for political liberty; this was the case in England, Scotland, Holland, and France, as well as in Switzerland. Lastly, Calvinism insisted on the need of a strict moral discipline. Protestantism had sometime been accused of loosening the sense of moral obligation; but Calvinism erected and enforced a system of rigid morality and manners. The dress, the table, the private habits, as well as

the morals, of the people of Geneva were placed under strict supervision ; and, if a gloomy life and ultimately some hypocrisy was the result of this, it acted at first as a most stimulating discipline, whereby the strongest fighters on the Protestant side were prepared for action.

While we are speaking of the different currents of belief which moved in sixteenth-century Europe, it will be well also to note that there was an intellectual movement, small but important, which cannot properly be classed with either of the religious camps. There were a number of men in Europe, thinkers and writers, who were at variance with the views of Catholicism, and yet were unable to accept Protestantism in any of its forms. These men, who are often called Humanists, are represented by such men as Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, and Rabelais and Montaigne in France. Their aim was not theological reform so much as learning, enlightenment, and the service of humanity at large. Their following was not large ; but they had a great influence on the future.

The Humanists of the sixteenth century.



Erasmus.

Born, 1467 ; visited England, 1497 ; published his New Testament, 1516 ; died, 1536.

If we turn to the Catholic camp we find there also important changes. The Papacy at first had looked on at the Reformation movement with little alarm. But when The Counter-England, Scotland, Holland, and Germany had Reformation. fallen away, when Protestantism was gaining ground rapidly in France, and there was danger of Venice even falling away from the Roman allegiance, then the Church was awakened from its torpor, and it began to organize its forces to resist this danger which had grown so surprisingly. This whole movement of reorganization is what is known as the Catholic reaction or the counter-Reformation.

The first great instrument of this new movement was the Jesuit order, or the Company of Jesus, as it was officially styled. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, was a Spanish nobleman who had been incapacitated by a wound from further military service (1521). He dreamed then of transferring his military ardour from temporal to spiritual warfare. He meditated long ; he studied, at the University of Paris and elsewhere ; he turned over various plans in his mind. But the upshot was that he proposed to found a new religious order, to be known as the Company of Jesus ; and in 1540 his proposal received the sanction of Pope Paul III.

The Church had often before had recourse to the foundation of a new order in moments of crisis and danger. We have seen how great a service the Cluniac and Cistercian orders had rendered to the Church, how effectively the Franciscans and Dominicans had laboured for her. It was natural, therefore, that, in face of the great Protestant danger, a new order should rise up to defend the Church. To combat Protestantism was the especial mission of the "Company of Jesus." The Jesuits had some resemblance to the Dominicans, and yet there was great originality in their organization and their methods. They existed for action, not for contemplation. They wore no special dress ; they were to mix with the world in various ways ; but always they were to have in view the defence and propagation of the Church. Like the members of other orders, they took the vows of obedience and of separation from earthly ties ; but, unlike earlier orders, they discouraged the practice of excessive asceticism. A special feature of their work was their attention to education and learning. The New Learning had hitherto been chiefly used by the opponents of the Church. But the Jesuits saw that it could equally well be used in its defence ; and soon the schools and universities of all Catholic countries were mastered by Jesuit influence. But no analysis of their organization and their aims is sufficient to account for their success. They were inspired, at least during the first generations of the order's existence, with a fiery and self-sacrificing zeal, which was

at least the equal of that which Lutherans and Calvinists displayed on the other side. No body of men contributed so much to the recovery of Catholicism as the members of the Society of Jesus.

The work of the Council of Trent was another great force that worked for a revival of Catholicism. The Emperor Charles V. had from the first desired that the questions at issue between Catholicism and Protestantism should be submitted to a Council of the whole Christian world; and at last the Papacy had summoned a Council to meet at Trent (a town within the German Empire, though on the southern slopes of the Alps, and geographically in Italy). The sessions of the Council were chiefly attended by Italian clergy; they were often interrupted by war and plague; but at last, in 1563, they brought their sessions and their work to an end. The modern Roman Catholic Church is largely the result of their deliberations.

What is the general result of the conclusions to which they came? The Papacy gained a great victory. If the Council of Constance had deposed the papal monarchy in favour of an episcopal aristocracy, the Council of Trent restored the monarchical control of the Papacy. The authority of the pope was declared superior to that of councils. Further, Charles V.'s hopes of a reconciliation with Protestantism were utterly disappointed. The exclusive authority of the Scriptures and the doctrine of "justification by faith" were both rejected, to the regret of some prominent Churchmen who took part in the debates. The celibacy of the clergy was insisted on: the Protestant demand that the laity as well as the clergy should partake of both bread and wine in the Eucharist was rejected. Further, a series of measures was adopted for the reform of the morals of the Church, the strengthening of discipline, and the removal of abuses. So the Church came from the Council of Trent purified, strengthened by a better organization, but more rigid and exclusive in doctrine than before, and destined never again to be the Church of more than a section of Western Christendom.

To this period also belongs a further development in the

tribunal of the Inquisition. The Church of the Middle Ages had had an organization for detecting and punishing heresy, and no theologian had ever questioned the duty of the Church to punish it. Late in the fifteenth century (1483) a special form of inquisition had been adopted by Spain for the persecution of Moors and Jews. Now, in 1542, the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition was organized by the pope for dealing with the Protestant heresy; but it could only be introduced into any state by permission of the rulers of that state, and it was never admitted into some Catholic states, as, for instance, France.

Its procedure and its penalties were much like those of some contemporary secular tribunals. It arrested on suspicion; it used torture to force confession; it did not confront the accused with his accusers; it allowed no appeal except to the pope. When the accused was found guilty, he was handed over to the State for punishment.

The Inquisition worked with terrible severity wherever it was permitted to assume authority. Its victims were numbered by thousands. But it was of no real service to the cause of the Church. Rather it exasperated Protestant hostility; gave its opponents the courage of despair, and did more than anything else to make conciliation between the opposing camps impossible.

Ranke's History of the Popes (see also Macaulay's paradoxical essay on the book); *Jonsson's Europe in the Sixteenth Century*; *Dyer's Life of Calvin*; *Froude's Lectures on the Council of Trent*.

CHAPTER IV

The Rise of the United Netherlands

Alva arrives in the Netherlands	1567
The "Water-Beggars" seize Brill	1572
Union of Utrecht	1579
Assassination of William the Silent	1584
Truce between the United Netherlands and Spain	1609

THE era of the Reformation brought a political transformation into most European countries. Germany, France, Spain, England—all passed through a convulsion that left them with changed forces, their alliances altered, their aims and policy profoundly modified. And during this same period a new state emerges, small but strong, and destined for the next two hundred years to be one of the most progressive and influential states of Europe. This new state is properly called "the United Netherlands," though it is sometimes loosely spoken of as the Dutch Republic, and even (though very incorrectly) as Holland.

We have seen how the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands had come into the possession of the Spanish crown by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with the Emperor Maximilian, who was the grandfather of the Emperor Charles V., and thus the great-grandfather of Philip II. of Spain. The seventeen states had each a separate constitution, and they varied considerably in social and political character. The difference between the seven northern and the ten southern states ultimately had a great influence on their history. The northern states were more democratic in character, active in commerce and industry, and had adopted Protestantism in its Calvinist form; while the southern states were of an aristocratic type, and strongly Catholic.

The Netherlands, as a whole, had been of the utmost service to Spain. Despite occasional friction, they were generally loyal, and their thriving industry and commerce had made

them a more profitable source of income to Spain than the mines of Peru and Mexico. The inhabitants were proud and independent in character, and antipathetic in some respects to Spain; but under Charles V. the connection had been easily maintained, and on the accession of Philip II. they were his most valuable possession.

Philip II. possessed none of the tact of his father. He was a thorough-going Spaniard in all his ways and ideas, and his absolute and uncompromising nature soon brought Spain into a conflict with the Netherlands which lasted longer than his own life. The general aim of Philip—an aim which seemed to him dictated by duty—was to establish absolutism, both political and religious, through all his dominions, to reassert everywhere the Roman Catholic Church against Protestant dissidence, and to destroy, throughout all lands which owned his sway, the principle of liberty and self-government.

It was his religious policy which first brought him into trouble with the Netherlands; but the religious question there, as everywhere else, was now closely connected with political aspirations. The Netherlands were in a dangerous condition of unrest. It is probable that tact and compromise could have regained the recalcitrant states to loyalty and submission; but Philip determined on the most forcible measures of repression. A great Spanish general, the Duke of Alva, with one of the best-equipped armies that Europe had ever seen, was sent to enforce the will of the king in the seventeen states (1567). Both the general and his royal master were confident that a short campaign and a small expense would reduce this land of merchants and shopkeepers.

For some time no effective resistance was offered. The Netherlands were beaten wherever they ventured to fight. Alva established a new Court, "the Council of Troubles" (which was called by its enemies "the Council of Blood"), to try all cases of treason against Spain. Its summary methods and cruel punishments spread a reign of terror throughout the land. By 1569 all opposition to the Spanish *régime* seemed at an end. But then Alva proceeded to impose taxes so heavy and so unwisely arranged, that if they

had been submitted to, they seemed likely to kill the commerce which was the source of all the wealth of the land. The new taxes raised a more dangerous opposition than the Council of Blood.

A large number of the inhabitants had been driven into flight by Alva's repressive measures; many of them had taken to a life of piracy, and were called in The Water-derision "the Water-Beggars." In 1572 a Beggars. squadron of their vessels appeared off the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt, and succeeded in capturing the important fortresses of Brill, Flushing, and Enkhuysen. It seemed as though it were merely a surprise which Alva would soon be able to get the better of. But the country was seething with discontent, and this rebellion was destined to destroy the prestige and power of Spain in a war that lasted nearly forty years. The rebels invited William of Orange—famed for all William the time as "William the Silent"—to take command Silent. of their forces. He had already fought against Alva without success, and had fled into Germany. But now he threw himself again into the contest, and his courage and tenacity of purpose, his diplomatic skill, his unselfishness and warm humanity, make him the one great heroic figure in the political history of the sixteenth century.

Success seemed at first impossible, for a handful of untrained soldiers had to oppose the whole might of the greatest military monarchy of the age. William's genius and the Nature of tenacious courage of the Dutch could not by them- the struggle selves have achieved success; but the canals and with Spain. the proximity of the sea made the country easily defensible, for again and again the dykes were cut and the sea was allowed to flood the country in order to drive out the Spaniards. Spain, too, was not so strong as she seemed. Her soldiers were unsurpassed in Europe, and remained generally victorious until the end of the war; but her finances were exhausted and her troops in consequence often unpaid. Spain, too, had serious occupations in every part of Europe, and before the end of the Dutch struggle was at war with both France and England. Thus it was that in the end the heroic endurance of the Dutch, inspired and strengthened by their grim and intense Calvinism,

succeeded in tearing a portion of the Netherlands from Spain, and established it as an independent



William the Silent.

Born, 1533; flees from Netherlands, 1567; negotiated Union of Utrecht, 1579; assassinated, 1584.

The war was largely one of sieges, for it was only behind walls that the Dutch could struggle with any chance of success against Spain. Their first important success was in 1574, when

Leyden, after a heroic defence, was saved by the cutting of the dykes and the letting in of the ocean. William the Silent showed great skill in directing the military course of operations, but his greatest gifts were those of the struggle. a statesman and diplomatist. In 1576 came his greatest triumph. He induced the southern states to join hands with the northern, and by the "Pacification of Ghent" to join together for the expulsion of the Spaniard and the establishment of some form of self-government. If that agreement had been kept the struggle would have been shorter, and the success of the insurgents greater than it was. But there was real difference of feeling and interest between the northern and southern states; and these differences were skilfully worked on by Alexander of Parma, the great Spanish general, who commanded in the Netherlands. In 1579, William the Silent had to recognize that the union of all the states was an impossible dream, and there was formed instead the "Union of Utrecht," whereby the seven northern Protestant states bound themselves together to prosecute the war, and at the same time accept a common form of government. This government has a great interest, for it was the first federal government of modern history. Each of the seven states was to manage its own domestic affairs, but to submit its foreign and military policy to a common government. It is thus the forerunner of the constitution of the United States of America.

After this the struggle grew even more bitter than before. A reward was offered for the assassination of William; and the United Netherlands (for so the seven states were now called) at last renounced all allegiance to Philip of Spain. In 1584 the last of several attempts on William's life was successful, and the United Netherlands had to struggle on without his firm guidance. Alone they could hardly hope to survive. Before his death William had been eagerly negotiating for an alliance with France or England; but Elizabeth of England refused his overtures, and though help had come from France, it had been of little real use to the United Netherlands. After William's death foreign help was more necessary than ever; and at last Elizabeth consented to send help, though she sent it grudgingly

Assassina-
tion of
William the
Silent.

and in insufficient force. The result, however, of England's assistance was that the long-threatening war between England and Spain at last came to a fierce outbreak. The Armada was despatched in 1588, and its defeat by the English gunners and its destruction by the winds and waves of the Atlantic were a great relief to the hard-pressed Netherlanders.

The defeat of the Armada did not by any means end the war; but never again were the United Netherlands in danger of utter destruction. Spain,



Queen Elizabeth.

henceforth, was fighting hard against both England and France, and could not find a sufficient army to cope with the heroic and now self-confident Dutch. On their side, too, a great soldier had appeared, Prince Maurice, the son of William the Silent.

In 1597 he gained against the Spaniards the great battle of Turnhout. The Dutch navy, meanwhile, had established an unquestioned supremacy over that of Spain; and while Spain was bleeding to death in conse-

quence of her many wars and her mistaken financial policy, the commerce of the Netherlands was rapidly strengthening and advancing.

At last the Spaniards, as tenacious as the Dutch themselves, had to acknowledge defeat. Even so, they were not willing to recognize at once the independence and separate political existence of the United Netherlands. But in 1609 they made a truce for twelve years. At the end of the truce the war was renewed, but not with the former energy. Dutch independence was safe. The power of Spain was

sinking. What she had failed to accomplish in 1572 th^{at}e was never again any likelihood of her being able to accomplish.

The importance of these events can hardly be exaggerated. The Catholic reaction and the power of Spain had received in them a very severe defeat. But, more important than that, a state of a new type had emerged, founded upon the ideas of religious and political liberty; and this state was for the seventeenth century the most progressive state in Europe. When despotism triumphed in England and in France, the champions of liberty found an asylum in Holland. The absolutism of Louis XIV. of France saw in the United Netherlands an enemy that must be overthrown at all costs; and had it not been for the United Netherlands the Revolution of 1688 in England could hardly have taken place.

Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic and History of the United Netherlands. Frederic Harrison's William the Silent (Foreign Statesmen) is an admirable account of the life and time of its subject.

CHAPTER V

France during the Era of the Reformation

States General called	1560
Massacre of St. Bartholomew	1572
Assassination of Henry III.	1589
Battle of Ivry	1590
Edict of Nantes	1598
Assassination of Henry IV.	1610

FRANCIS I. during his long rivalry with Charles V. had at times entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, and it was at one time hoped that he would prove the protector and supporter of "reformed" opinions in France—would, in fact, play in France the part that Henry VIII. played in England. But this was far from being the case. After the battle of Pavia he desired the support

of the pope and the clergy, and he had to purchase it by measures of repression against the "heretics" of France. His measures of persecution had been carried on and intensified by Henry II.

In spite of all, Protestantism had grown strong in France. It had appeared at first as Lutheranism; but that form of Calvinism in Protestantism rarely flourished strongly outside of France. Germany. Lutheranism was soon superseded by Calvinism, whose severe and logical character seemed better to suit the French temperament. By 1560 Calvinism was a really serious force in France, and the French Calvinists received the nickname of Huguenots—a word of obscure origin. Protestantism in France had certain noteworthy characteristics. It found its chief support in the south and west, though Protestantism as a rule has been the faith of the northern nations of Europe. And it is, above all, important to observe how largely Calvinism found favour with the nobles of France. Its earliest professors and martyrs were drawn from the ranks of the middle and industrial classes; but during the latter half of the century it found its chief support among the aristocracy. The truth is that in France, as elsewhere, the Reformation movement stood in close relation to preceding political and social struggles. The nobles had fought against the supremacy of the crown, and had been defeated. They saw in the new religious movement a chance of renewing the struggle in a different form. And thus the Protestant movement in France more than elsewhere in Europe (except, perhaps, in Scotland) bore a strongly marked political character; and many of its aristocratic champions were self-seeking and hypocritical in their religious pretensions. This is, however, by no means true of all. European Protestantism produced few nobler figures than Coligny, the leader and the martyr of French Protestantism.

Upon the death of Henry II. in 1559 the crown passed to his son, Francis II. But all the children that his wife Catherine de' Medici had borne to him seem to have been feeble in body and mind, and though three in succession—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—came to the throne, it was really their mother who ruled

for them. Catherine de' Medici had been neglected by her husband, and she gladly seized the opportunity of satisfying her ambition. Her name is one of the most bitterly execrated in history ; but her policy and character have often been misrepresented. She was far from being a religious fanatic ; rather, she treated the religious controversies of her day with Italian levity and detachment of mind. Her aim was to avoid religious warfare, and, when it broke out, to bring it to an end, and thus to maintain the unity and the strength of France. We must sympathize with some of her aims ; but her career was blackened and ruined by an absence of all scruple and a readiness to seize any means to serve her egotistic purposes. Machiavelli, the Florentine writer, had asserted that a ruler was not bound by the ordinary laws of morality ; and, though many statesmen of the age seemed to act on these principles, none did so more clearly than this Florentine lady who had in an evil hour become Queen of France.

The government of France was weak, and as a result a meeting of the States-General was called in 1561. The States-General were, as we have seen, a body representative of the three "estates" of France—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. But, in fact, it was the nobility that had the chief influence ; and the meeting of 1561 represented chiefly the desires and aspirations of the French nobility. They demanded religious toleration, regular meetings of the States-General, and confiscation of Church property. The government of France could consent to none of these, and its refusal led soon to civil war.

On the Protestant side the chief figures were the house of Bourbon represented by the vacillating King of Navarre and his brother, the Duke of Condé ; it was the son of the first named, Henry of Navarre, who was finally carried to the throne by the civil war. far nobler nature was the Châtillon family, whose representative, Admiral Coligny, has already been mentioned. Upon the Catholic side the chief influence lay, not with any member of the royal house, but with the noble family of the Guises. They were related by marriage with the royal house, and were regarded by the party of the Catholic reaction as their

States-
General
summoned.

Protestant
and Catholic
leaders.

leaders. At first it was on Francis, Duke of Guise, that all Catholic eyes were fixed ; at his death his son Henry was their leader. His position seemed to give him a chance of gaining the throne of France, and led him actually to a violent death at the hands of the King of France. Standing between Catholics and Protestants must be mentioned the Chancellor L'Hôpital, who represents the noblest humanist spirit of the age, and who struggled, and struggled in vain, to find some basis of reconciliation for Catholics and Protestants.

The civil war broke out in 1562, and lasted with some interruptions but no real peace for thirty-eight years. Next to the

The civil war : its character. Thirty Years' War in Germany, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, it was the most evil and destructive war that the Reformation period produced. It is a peculiarly difficult war to follow, for the fighting was desultory and the confusion almost universal. It will be enough for our purpose to note the decisive incidents, and to summarize the results of the struggle.

Between 1562 and 1570 three wars are reckoned by the historians. The Huguenots fought stubbornly, but usually

The crisis of 1572. got the worst of it. A peace was patched up in 1570 (the Peace of S. Germain), and to many

it seemed that it would be a permanent peace, which would coincide with great European changes. The reigning king was Charles IX., and he seemed to be growing weary of the influence which his mother, Catherine de' Medici, exercised on the policy of France. To him, as to most thinking men, it was evident that the result of these civil wars was to depress the power and influence of France, and consequently to exalt that of her great European rival, Spain. So Charles IX. drew near to Coligny, the leader of the Protestants, and it seemed that under his influence a permanent religious peace might be established in Europe, France might join hands with England's queen and the rebels against Spain in the Netherlands, and strike a decisive blow against Spain and the Catholic reaction. Europe has had no more critical year than 1572, when it seemed that these great schemes would be carried into execution.

There came instead the Massacre of S. Bartholomew.

It was no deep-laid scheme, and Charles IX. was not a hypocrite in his professions. Rather is it to be ascribed to the determination of Catherine de' Medici and Henry of Guise to regain, by whatever means, the power which seemed slipping from their grasp. Coligny was murdered, and with him thousands of Huguenots in Paris and the country. It seemed for the moment that Calvinism was destroyed in France; but the massacre proved to be, not only a crime, but a blunder. Protestant hopes in Europe had, indeed, received a heavy blow, and the Huguenots of France had suffered cruelly, but there were enough left to struggle on with the energy of despair. The religious wars at once began again, and, with no real intervals of peace, lasted yet for over twenty years. In 1574 Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry III., who had won some reputation as a soldier in his youth. But he had developed into a superstitious voluptuary, and he was soon almost equally distrusted by both parties.

During these later stages the war assumed a somewhat different character. Calvinists still opposed Catholics, and theological differences still gave rise to the most violent passions. But the Huguenots had now to abandon the hope of conquering by their unaided forces, and they looked round for allies among the more moderate section of the Catholics. There thus grew up the party called the "Politiques," consisting of men who, whether Catholic or Protestant, put political considerations before theological, and aimed at a real union of all classes in France on a basis of religious toleration. Note, too, that their general political theories were almost the opposite of those with which the Calvinists had begun the war. They supported now extreme doctrines of the royal authority, whereas in 1562 they had fought against royal absolutism, and had tried to substitute for it government by the representative States-General. The explanation of this change is easily discovered. Henry III. was childless, and so was his brother, the Duke of Anjou. When these two died, and their health did not promise them a long life, the next claimant to the throne was Henry of Navarre, a Protestant, and the leader of the

Huguenot and "politique" party. Thus the success of the Protestant cause in France seemed bound up with the claims of strict hereditary succession.

While the Protestants had thus made alliance with the Politiques, and supported the absolute claims of the crown, **The Holy League.** the Catholic party had undergone an opposite transformation. They repudiated hereditary right and supported the claim of the States-General; they declared that no heretic had any claim to the throne of France, and they were ready to join in alliance with Spain, the great enemy of France, or even to declare themselves subjects of Spain, if thus they could maintain the supremacy of Catholic orthodoxy. Their organization was known as the "Holy League," and was largely under the influence of the Jesuits. When in 1584 the Duke of Anjou died, the question of the succession became an urgent one. An elderly prince of the royal family, Cardinal Bourbon, was adopted by the Holy League as their nominal candidate, but, in fact, some supported the claims of Henry of Guise, and others those of Philip II. of Spain.

Now French history becomes a scene of furious confusion. The king, Henry III., though a Catholic and one of the chief agents of the Bartholomew massacre, was offended **Henry III.'s opposition to the Holy League.** by the anti-royalist tone of the Holy League, and regarded Henry of Guise with wild jealousy. This was increased by what is known as the Day of the Barricades in 1588, when Paris rose in support of Henry of Guise, and drove King Henry, in terror of his life, from his own capital. The king's position was most difficult. He was suspected and powerless in the camp of the Holy League, and it was Henry of Guise who really reigned in their hearts. Assassination suggested itself as a remedy to this true son of Catherine de' Medici, and at Christmas of the year 1588 he had Henry of Guise murdered.

But his position in the Holy League was not thereby improved. Rather he was regarded by all zealous Catholics as the declared enemy of their cause. **Henry III. allies himself with Henry of Navarre.** To whom could he look for help? He was forced by the pressure of circumstances to turn to his great rival, Henry of Navarre, to recognize his claim

to the succession, and to promise religious toleration for Huguenots. The principal author of the St. Bartholomew Massacre adopted the language of a William the Silent or L'Hôpital, and spoke of the wickedness of forcing the consciences of men.

This strange alliance gave the two Henrys overwhelming military strength, and it seemed that, in 1589, the Holy League would be utterly crushed. Paris, indeed, held out for the League; but the king and Henry of Navarre laid siege to Paris, and it seemed that the city would soon be forced to surrender through starvation. But religious fanaticism was at fever heat in Paris, and a friar made his way into the camp of the besiegers and stabbed Henry III. His death produced an instant change in the situation. Many who had served Henry III. because he was a Catholic and the legitimate King of France by hereditary right, now refused to follow the standard of the heretical Henry of Navarre. The siege of Paris had to be abandoned, and Henry of Navarre was again an adventurer fighting for the crown.

During the next two years he fought with a courage and audacity and success that endeared his name to Frenchmen. In 1590 he won the battle of Ivry, and pressed hard upon Paris. Again the city was reduced to the extremity of famine, and seemed certain to fall; and, if Henry gained Paris, he would gain France. But again Paris was saved. The Holy League was now in close alliance with Spain. A Spanish army marched into France from the Netherlands under the command of the great Duke of Parma, and relieved Paris. Henry had meantime entered into an alliance with Elizabeth of England; but, even with English help, it seemed that he could not win the crown of France by his sword alone.

Another way had for some years been suggested. If he were to declare himself a Catholic, all resistance would collapse, and the vast majority even of Catholic Frenchmen would readily obey a king whose personal gallantry and genial humanity had become a proverb in France. Henry debated the question long and

Assassination of Henry III.

Henry of Navarre fails to conquer France.

The conversion of Henry of Navarre.

carefully, looking at it chiefly from the political point^{of} of view, for his theological convictions had no very strong hold upon his conscience. At last he determined to make "the great plunge." Paris seemed to him "well worth a mass." He was instructed in the Catholic faith; declared himself convinced, and went to mass on July 25, 1593. The anticipated results were not slow to follow. Town after town surrendered into his hands. Next year he entered Paris, and soon could boast that he reigned over a united people.

The kingdom which he had thus won was torn with the effects of a thirty years' civil war; and difficulties had to be faced on every side. France was at war with Spain; the Huguenots were discontented; the nobles were inclined to be rebellious; the finances of the country were in almost hopeless confusion. Henry IV. (for such was his title now) faced all these difficulties with courage and a large measure of success.

Spain was less dangerous than she seemed; her resources were utterly exhausted, and the country was rapidly sinking from the position of importance which it had held for two centuries among the nations of Europe. The disorders of France had allowed Spain to win some successes, but when Henry devoted his undivided attention to the war, it was soon over. In 1598 he forced Spain to accept the Peace of Vervins. In the same year Philip II. died. Few rulers have entertained greater or more ambitious projects; but he had accomplished hardly any of his schemes. The united Netherlands were practically independent; England was triumphant at sea; Protestantism was vigorous and victorious in Northern Europe; Spain herself was, in spite of or because of her vast empire, poor and exhausted. The annexation of Portugal was his only considerable success; and that has not proved permanent.

As soon as peace was in sight, Henry turned to the question of the Huguenots. They were indignant to see the prince, for whom they had fought so long and so stubbornly, reigning as a Catholic king, and giving his chief confidence to his new co-religionists. Their discontent might not improbably issue in civil war. But in

1598 Henry IV. issued the great Edict of Nantes, by which freedom of worship was given to the Huguenots, and they were put on an equality with the Catholics for all careers both civil and military. And, in order to show them that this religious equality was to be a genuine measure, they were allowed to garrison certain towns with exclusively Protestant troops, and to have law cases tried by tribunals containing both Protestant and Catholic judges. It was a glorious measure. No other country in Europe gave such favourable terms to religious dissidents. Roman Catholics in England did not enjoy such a position for nearly two centuries and a half. The privileges granted to the Protestants were, indeed, so great as to be dangerous to them. They became an object of jealousy and fear; and in less than a century the edict was withdrawn, to the infinite loss of France.

Henry is the most popular of all the Kings of France, though he is usually known by the name of Henry of Navarre, which he bore before his accession to the throne. He is remembered as the gallant soldier who gave France peace after many years of civil and foreign war; as the first of European rulers to establish a system of religious toleration; and perhaps above all as one who loved the common people. He wanted to see the time, he said, when every peasant had a chicken in his saucepan; and when peace had come he did much to give France the possibility of a better life. In this work he was assisted by his great minister, Sully, who, though a Protestant, had advised the king to accept Catholicism. The king and his minister did much to improve the social condition of France. Sully brought some order and a little honesty into the assessment and collection of taxes, though the evil that was at the root of the trouble remained until the French Revolution of 1789. Agriculture was assisted in many ways; by introducing better methods of farming and by protecting the farmers against oppression at the hands of soldiers and nobles. The silkworm was introduced into France, and the silk industry soon became an important one for France. The French navy was developed; important colonies were established in America. A new life seemed to be breathing in the wasted body of France when, in 1610, Henry was

assassinated as he was about to set out to take part in a war which threatened to break out in Germany.

Histories of France as before. *Willert's Henry of Navarre* (Heroes of the Nations); *Baird's Rise of the Huguenots*.

CHAPTER VI

The Age of the Tudors. British History from 1485 to 1603.

Fall of Wolsey	1529
Dissolution of Monasteries	1539
Treaty of Edinburgh	1560
Spanish Armada	1588
Parliament attacks Monopolies	1601

THE period of English history that was surveyed in Chap. XX. has a depressing effect on the reader. The Hundred Years' War was an unjust and shameful war in its aims, and it ended in military failure and disgrace. The Wars of the Roses is a dismal story of incompetence, intrigue, and crime. But beneath the surface of military and political history much was happening of a different character. The first half of the period is sweetened and illuminated by the poems of Chaucer. Wycliffe's career shows at least the intellectual activity of the age, and the interest of his generation in religious and moral ideas. During the whole period architecture flourished. The Perpendicular style was now in vogue, and though the churches of this age have no longer the magic charm of those of an earlier period, their stately and cheerful appearance marks the prosperity, especially of the sheep-rearing districts. Before Henry VII. came to the throne England was beginning to feel the effects of the Renaissance which was spreading from Italy. It was in Edward IV.'s reign that William Caxton printed the first books in English. The reign of Henry VII. bears, in its

politics and wars, the same dull and hard character as the reign of the Yorkist kings ; but under the surface the intellectual movement never ceased. It is the seed-time of the Reformation, with all its speculations, hopes, and fears, and of the scientific and literary movement which culminated in the age of Elizabeth.

Henry VII.'s reign is of the utmost importance too for the political and constitutional development of England ; and yet we need say very little about it. Henry VII.'s strength was above all "to sit still." He gave England, after a century and more of exhausting foreign war and domestic confusion, a period of recuperation and quiet. He was like Edward IV. in his policy and aims, but more practical and astute in his methods. There is much in him that reminds us of Louis XI., but he had an easier task than that great French king, and did not exhibit either his cunning or his cruelty.

In brief, Henry VII. beat down aristocratic opposition wherever it showed itself, and for this purpose he used not the ordinary law courts but the judicial power of the royal council. This court, later known as the Star Chamber, though subsequently much detested, was popular at first. The people were glad to see an efficient bridle put into the mouth of the nobles, and found its procedure quicker and cheaper than that of the ordinary courts. Though Henry VII. was by birth a Lancastrian, he aimed at the conciliation of the parties whose bitterness had cost England so dear. He married Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., and his children thus united the claims of the Yorkist and Lancastrian houses. War had no attraction for him, but he was a keen and successful diplomatist. The marriages that he arranged were of permanent importance for English history. His son Arthur was married to the Spanish princess Catherine, and, on the death of Arthur, Catherine was betrothed to his second son, Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. His elder daughter Margaret was married to James IV., king of Scotland. The first marriage led to the breach with the Papacy ; the second by a long and winding road to the union of England and Scotland.

Above all Henry VII. reigned twenty-four years without being driven into exile, and when he died he left to his son a stable and popular throne.

The reign of Henry VIII. offers a great contrast to that of his father. England was weary of the dull success of Henry VII., and desired something more picturesque and more noisy, and the new king was ready and anxious to give it. He found a great minister in Wolsey, later Cardinal and Henry VIII. Archbishop of York, whose great talents for organization and diplomacy secured for his master welcome successes in the domain of foreign affairs. We have seen in Chapter I. how the invasion of Italy by the French had led to a long series of wars between France and Spain, and how the idea of a European Balance of Power emerged as the result of these wars. England, under Wolsey's guidance, threw her weight into the conflict, and often with decisive effect. She was not a great military power, but France and Spain were so nearly equal that England's adherence to the one side or the other sometimes determined the result. Henry VIII. first associated himself with Spain against France in the Holy League of 1511; and English troops once more invaded France and won victories on French soil. The Scotch were stirred up to create a diversion by invading England, but were heavily defeated in the battle of Flodden (1513). Later, when Francis I. and Charles V. were engaged in their great duel, Henry, still under Wolsey's guidance, joined himself to Spain; but, when the battle of Pavia (1525) gave his ally a position in Europe which seemed to upset the Balance of Power, Henry VIII., in a way that is most characteristic of the time, transferred his alliance to France. Not much good was achieved by all this war and diplomacy. Europe was on the edge of great religious changes which, with the social and political movements that accompanied them, divided the first part of Henry VIII.'s reign from the later part by a wide gulf. But Henry was proud of his important position he had won in Europe, and grateful to the minister whose exertions had done so much to win it.

The coming of the Reformation movement into England is for us the one fact of supreme importance in the reign of

Henry VIII. We have seen that there was much fermentation of opinion. The influence of Wycliffe and the Lollards was no longer perceptible, but its results had not passed away. The statutes of

The coming
of the
Reformation.



Henry VIII.; from a painting by Holbein about 1536, belonging to Earl Spencer.

Provisors and *Præmunire* showed the long-standing jealousy felt in England of the Papal power on its financial and judicial side. But there was at first no demand in England for co-operation with Luther. The stream seemed to run rather Henry VIII. in the contrary direction. Henry VIII. wrote a *Defender of the Faith*. book against the Lutheran doctrine, which won for him from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith"—a title which the kings of England still bear. A group of men, of whom Colet, More, and the great Dutch scholar Erasmus were the chief, eagerly embraced the new learning, and studied the Greek of the New Testament. They Sir Thomas saw abuses in the Church and were ready for More. changes. But, though they are often called "the Oxford Reformers," they were wholly out of sympathy with the Lutheran movement, and More died rather than consent to the least breach with Catholicism. It is impossible to say what course England would have taken in the great religious controversy, if the king, for personal reasons, had not thrown his weight on the side of Revolution. It is at least possible that England might have remained a liberalizing and humanizing force on the side of Catholicism.

But Henry acted with decisive effect. He was pleasure-loving, capable, and passionate. His wilfulness grew upon him as his reign advanced. He would put all to The "Divorce" risk rather than be balked of his pleasures. His of Catherine wife, Catherine of Aragon, had borne him several of Aragon. children, but only one, the Princess Mary, had lived. Catherine was older than Henry, and her serious and ascetic temperament had little in common with her husband's. Meanwhile Anne Boleyn had appeared at Court as lady-in-waiting to the queen. The king had fallen in love with her, and was determined to get rid of Catherine and to marry Anne.

It did not seem at first that it would be impossible to do so. A papal dispensation would be necessary to allow him to Failure of put away his innocent wife; but there was no first attempts. reason to despair of procuring it. The Popes had recently granted dispensations quite as unwarranted. But in 1527, as we have seen, the Spanish troops had taken Rome; the

Pope had become a prisoner of Spain ; and Charles V. would not allow the Pope to do anything to the prejudice of Catherine, who was Charles V.'s aunt. Wolsey had hoped to procure the accomplishment of the king's wish by legal means. But he failed and was dismissed. Had he not died soon after he would have suffered severe treatment at the hands of the king, for Henry was growing hard and cruel to his dependants who failed to carry out his wishes.

As the Pope would not free him from his marriage with Catherine he determined to procure his end by other roads. The Tudors had hitherto lived on good terms with their Parliaments. The monarchy was extremely popular, and Parliament had usually seconded the wishes of the king. Henry VIII. now called Parliament together. It is often called the Reformation Parliament, and sat from 1529 to 1536. Step by step it supported the wishes and carried out the policy of Henry VIII. It declared the king supreme head of the English Church. It destroyed the financial and judicial power of the Papacy in England. In 1534 the complete separation of England from the Roman Church had been decreed by the Act of Supremacy. Thomas Cranmer had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, and a court under his presidency declared that Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine was null and void, because Catherine had been previously married to his brother. Later the monasteries were dissolved, and their revenue confiscated to the Crown. The breach with Rome was then complete.

The country at large regarded these changes without enthusiasm, but without much active opposition. But there were groups of Englishmen who refused to accept the king's new religious policy. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and More, who had been Chancellor, and who by reason of his character and his writings is one of the noblest and most loved of Englishmen, were executed for their refusal. There was a rising in the North of England—directed especially against the destruction of the monasteries—but it was broken down. The king's will was law throughout the land.

Though Henry had declared that he was the head of the

Church, though he had repudiated the authority of the Pope and dissolved the monasteries, there was still little difference between the official theology of England and that of Rome. Many of those who served Henry and the Protestants of the Continent. Henry would have liked England to join hands with the Lutheran movement in Germany. But the design had no success ; and Thomas Cromwell, who had been identified with it, was sent to the scaffold by the king. Henry allowed the Bible to be circulated in an English translation ; but he would go little further in a Protestant direction. In 1539 the Six Articles Statute was passed, strongly affirming Catholic doctrine, and declared that those who denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation should be burnt as heretics. This position was maintained so long as Henry VIII. lived. But it could not be permanent. The will of one man—and of such a man as Henry—could not be allowed to fix the standard of doctrine, church government, and morals.

The private life of Henry VIII. must have a moment's notice. Anne Boleyn had borne him a daughter, who was later the famous Queen Elizabeth ; but Anne Henry VIII. soon fell from Henry's favour, and was repudiated and executed. Next Henry married Jane Seymour, who bore him the much-desired son, who later reigned as Edward VI. Upon the death of Jane, Henry married Anne of Cleves ; but the marriage was a political one, and was intended to produce an alliance between England and the German Lutherans ; the failure of the policy brought about the repudiation of the Queen. The next wife was Catherine Howard, the cousin of Anne Boleyn, who, like Anne, was executed on a charge of infidelity. Then Henry married Catherine Parr, who survived him.

Henry VIII. had shown himself a tyrant during the latter part of his reign ; but those who like neither the man nor his policy have seen that England owed much to his strong rule. This Reformation brought civil war to most countries in Europe. That England avoided that scourge is largely to be attributed to the strong government of Henry VIII., and order was cheaply purchased at the price of the postponement of measures of religious and political reform.

In 1547 he was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, who reigned as Edward VI. His reign has a very definite character. The Protestant Reformation, as it was known on the Continent, was largely adopted. **Edward VI.** But the government that made and allowed these changes was weak and irresolute; and the result was civil war and a marked decline in the prestige of England among the nations of Europe.

The Law of the Six Articles was repealed. Priests were allowed to marry. Churches were despoiled of their beautiful medieval ornaments. Those of the bishops who **Protestant** leaned towards the ideas of Henry were deposed. **progress.** The new men were anxious to introduce changes that would bring the English Church more into harmony with Lutheranism. A Prayer-book was drawn up, and the Act of Uniformity declared that no other was to be used.

There was discontent with all this, especially in the South-west of England. And the discontent springing from religious causes was supported by the unrest **Resistance in** which was caused by social and economic changes **the East and** which were passing over England. Great agri- **West of** cultural changes were in progress. The com- **England.** mon lands were enclosed. The high prices that could be obtained for English wool made landlords substitute grass land for corn land; and, as sheep-rearing requires less labour than agriculture, a large number of agricultural labourers found themselves without employment. The new landlords who had received the monastery lands were harder masters than the monks had been. The Duke of Somerset, who was **The Protec-** Protector during the minority of the king, was a **tor Somerset.** supporter of Protestantism, and he had some sympathy with those who demanded the redress of the social evils under which the country laboured. Two risings broke out, one in Norfolk, directed chiefly against the enclosure of commons and the social grievances; another in Devon and Cornwall, which was concerned chiefly with the innovations in religion. Both were put down, but Somerset gained no credit for the success. It was due rather to the energy of the Earl of Warwick, who had commanded in Norfolk.

◀ Somerset was deposed from the Protectorate, and soon Warwick stepped into his place and assumed the title of the Duke of Northumberland. He was a passionate, Warwick.

hard, ambitious man, very different from the enthusiastic and sympathetic Somerset. For ambitious reasons he pushed on the Reformation. He issued a new Prayer-book, which differs in little from the Prayer-book now in use in the Church of England, and published Forty-two Articles of Religion, which were largely derived from Lutheran and Continental divines. He had the temper of a tyrant, and he ruled like one. Edward VI. was clearly dying, and Northumberland saw that all his power would be overthrown and his own life endangered if the princess Mary came to the throne, for Mary was a zealous Catholic, and cherished a desire to revenge the treatment of her mother, Catherine of Aragon. Northumberland had already procured the execution of Somerset. He now tried to alter the succession, and to put in Mary's place Lady Jane Grey, who was descended from Henry VII., and was married to Lord Guilford Dudley, Northumberland's son. But the scheme failed utterly. The nation was weary of Northumberland, and enthusiastic for Mary. She was quickly placed in possession of the throne. Northumberland, Lady Jane Grey and her husband were all put to death.

Mary reigned for five years (1553-1558). Her passionate desire was to restore England to communion with Rome, and to undo the Protestant Reformation. It did Queen Mary. not seem an impossible task; for the queen was popular, Protestantism had taken as yet no hold of the affections of the people, and the nation generally was ready to follow the lead of the monarchy. But Mary committed mistake on mistake; and, though the reconciliation with Rome was actually brought about, it was a transitory measure, and at her death Protestantism was much more strongly rooted than before.

Mary's mistakes were chiefly two. First, she married Philip, King of Spain, who seemed the most Her mistakes. powerful ruler of the age, and was the most prominent Roman Catholic sovereign. But he was detested as a

foreigner, and the queen seemed to have put England into subjection to the rival power of Spain. Then followed the formal reconciliation with Rome, and Parliament and the country accepted it, if not with enthusiasm, at least with readiness. Then came Mary's second great mistake. She began to persecute her Protestant opponents, **The martyr-** and sent to the stake Bishops Latimer, Ridley, **doms.** and Cranmer, as well as a great number of less important persons. The age was not a tolerant one; but England was shocked and horrified by these burnings and executions of men whose religion was their only crime. If Mary could have made Roman Catholicism national and humane it does not seem impossible that it might have held its own, but the nation revolted from it when it was associated with the power of Spain and acts of cruel persecution, which had no parallel in English history. Before her death in 1558 it was clear that her policy was a failure.

Her sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, succeeded, and reigned for forty-five years (1558-1603). She had the Tudor characteristics—strength of will, love **Queen** of pleasure, a desire to rule. But she had a tact **Elizabeth.** and judgment which are not found in Henry VIII.; she devoted herself to the well-being of the country; and it cannot be doubted that at this epoch England both needed and desired a strong ruler. During this reign the monarchy was strong, the country advanced in power and wealth, and the queen herself was very popular. We will glance separately at (1) the religious history of the reign; (2) at its foreign policy; (3) at the character of the constitution.

Protestantism was re-established. Elizabeth returned in general to the religious policy of Henry VIII. The supremacy of the Crown was to be maintained. The Church **Religious** of England was to be separated from Rome **policy of** without coming into line with either Lutheranism **Elizabeth.** or Calvinism. The two fundamental religious Acts of the reign were the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; the first of which vested the government of the Church in the Crown, and the second declared that no other worship than that according to the Prayer-book would be allowed. But Elizabeth

was not by nature intolerant. She hoped that most of her subjects would be contented with the formularies and organization of the Church. It was a great disappointment to find that there was a large body of Catholics that refused to accept her religious settlement, and that as time went on more and more of the Protestants found it unsatisfactory, and Religious desired a form of worship after the pattern difficulties. that Calvin had established in Geneva. When dangers gathered round her, and she found that a mission of Jesuits was stirring up disaffection among her subjects, she allowed Parliament to pass measures of great severity against the Catholics, and many suffered death before the reign was over. Her troubles with the Protestant dissenters were of a different kind. They were loyal to her government, but some of them wanted to introduce into the English Church the Presbyterian system of Calvin, and others desired to establish entirely separate churches, in which each congregation controlled its own affairs. These last were known, first, as *Separatists*, and later as *Independents*. Some of them perished on the scaffold before the reign was over. Thus Elizabeth's scheme failed to secure the religious unity that she so ardently desired; but it was supported by a majority of the English people. The Church of England still rests on the foundations that the queen established. The Tudor settlement of religion (for it was Henry VIII.'s as well as Elizabeth's), admitted new ideas without breaking with the past. A large proportion of Englishmen came later to feel gratitude to Queen Elizabeth for having preserved so much of the traditions and the inheritance of medieval Catholicism.

Queen Elizabeth was well served throughout her reign. Archbishop Parker was of the utmost service to her in her religious policy. In her foreign policy she relied chiefly upon the advice of Cecil, Lord Burghley.

One of the greatest triumphs of her reign was the reconciliation with Scotland, which substituted friendship for the Foreign policy: enmity which had prevailed between the two countries for centuries. It was the Protestant Scotland. Reformation that gave Elizabeth her opportunity. It had come to Scotland chiefly through the agency of John

Knox, and it had come, not in the Lutheran form, nor in the English form, but in the form in which it had been established by Calvin at Geneva. The Scotch Government was in the hands of Mary of Guise, the French widow of James V., and it was strongly opposed to the new movement. The Scotch Protestants found that they could not hope to triumph without English assistance. Distrust and hatred of England were a tradition and a passion in Scotland, but the new Protestant enthusiasm mastered it. The French supporters of the old system were driven out, and Lord Burghley made the treaty of Edinburgh with the Scotch, which laid the foundations of Protestantism in Scotland, and led ultimately to close friendship and political union between England and Scotland. Yet during Elizabeth's later reign her relations with Scotland were often difficult. Mary Queen of Scots, who came to Scotland in 1561, was expelled by her opponents, who were partly zealous Protestants and partly ambitious nobles. She fled to England for help and found a prison. After a long imprisonment she was put to death by Queen Elizabeth. But we need not glance here at that romantic and tragic story. The great fact is that the Protestant Reformation brought to an end the long hostility between Scotland and England, and prepared the way for union.

At the beginning of the reign England was in alliance with Spain and at war with France, as the result of Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain. By stages Elizabeth and her ministers changed this. England entered into closer and closer relations with France, and before the end of the reign England was fighting Spain by land and sea, and was in alliance with France. Various reasons account for and justify this change. Spain was the chief support of the Roman Catholic Church, and England was now committed to Protestantism. France, though a Catholic power, included a large number of Protestant Huguenots, and came to hold a position midway between the disputing faiths, officially professing Catholicism but tolerating Protestantism. Then, too, Spain claimed as her own nearly the whole of the newly discovered world beyond the Atlantic, and endeavoured

to, exclude English trade from it. Spain too controlled the Netherlands, and seemed the strongest power on the Continent. Elizabeth's struggles against Spain were another instance of the working of the principle of balance of power.



Mary Queen of Scots.

It was by slow degrees that England came into war with Spain. Elizabeth helped the Dutch against Philip. English sailors made their way into the West Indies and into the Pacific. Drake sailed round the world. This meant friction with Spain, and by 1586 it had come to open war. Philip

determined to settle the matter by striking at the heart of England. But the Spanish Armada was roughly handled by the English fleet, and then largely destroyed by the The Spanish winds and waves. Englishmen felt secure on the Armada. seas, and conducted settlements to the continent of America. The early attempts at colonization were not a success; but Elizabeth's reign is rightly regarded as the starting-point of the British Empire.

The history of Ireland does not belong to the foreign relations of England, but had best be inserted here. The Tudor period established English rule in Ireland as it had never been established before, for the Ireland. English sovereigns were strong, and there was no force in Ireland sufficient to resist them. Under Henry VII. the Irish Parliament, which continued to sit in Dublin, was declared to be subordinated to the government of England. Protestantism was introduced by Henry VIII., but at first called out little opposition. Elizabeth's reign, so glorious in the annals of England, bears a very different character in Ireland. It was devoted there chiefly to the fastening of the English rule upon Ireland, with no regard to the wishes of the people, and little to justice or religion. The English Prayer-book, though the majority of the people could not understand English, was enforced, but the English Church gained few adherents among the Irish. Irish land was confiscated on different pretexts, and distributed to English settlers. There were risings in the North and in the South which were beaten down with great cruelty. At the end of the reign Ireland was bitterly and naturally discontented. She clung the closer to the old forms of religion because the new were associated with injustice and cruelty. In Ireland the Elizabethan age sows the seeds of future troubles for many generations.

Parliament sat with fair regularity during the reigns of the Tudors, and there was sometimes friction between it and the Crown. But the friction did not amount to Queen conflict. The monarchy was more popular than Elizabeth and Parliament. Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Parliament. Elizabeth were not despots, that is, they did not rule in opposition to the wishes of the people. They were the trusted

representatives of the people, and the nation at large was glad that they should act swiftly and vigorously. Parliament co-operated in the making of laws and the fixing of taxes ; but the task of government and administration was in the hands of the king and queen. The end of Elizabeth's reign saw a sharp contest. She was in the habit of granting, or selling, to different people the exclusive right of trading in certain articles. This was the system of **Monopolies**. It offended Parliament because it raised the price of the objects in question, and it was an evasion of Parliament's right to control taxation. The House of Commons protested after a hot debate. The queen yielded with tact and courtesy, and the trouble passed over. But already we can see those questions rising which led later to the overthrow of the Stuarts. The Crown claimed to regulate religion without consulting Parliament ; and it tried to get money without a grant from Parliament. There was only a little angry complaint against Elizabeth, but under Charles I. the quarrel developed until it led to the execution of the king.

Queen Elizabeth's reign is often regarded as having seen the foundation of the British Empire ; but this is largely a **The British** mistake. The Queen's attention was fixed on **Empire**. domestic problems, and especially on the relation of England to the other states of Europe. There is no proof that she ever caught the least glimpse of the possibilities that had been opened by the discovery of the New World. Nor did her great ministers show much more interest in the adventures of English seamen beyond the great oceans. And yet Elizabeth's reign is in a real sense the beginning of the movement which led to the building up of the British Empire. For, first, it established the maritime supremacy of England as it had never been before. Before the defeat of the Spanish Armada English seamen had come into conflict with Spanish sailors in the American waters, which Spain tried to guard against all intruders. Hawkins introduced the slave trade into English commercial life. Drake plundered Spanish settlements on both coasts of South America, and sailed round the world by the Cape of Good Hope. Though no colonies

were stably founded in this reign, yet it was out of these expeditions, and from this spirit of adventure, that the colonizing movement sprang. One step of vast ultimate consequence was taken. In 1600 the Queen granted a charter to the East India Company. The Indian Empire has developed from that small beginning.

We can spare little more space for the reign of Elizabeth. But we have not said a word of that which has given it its greatest and most deserved splendour. The Renaissance was slow to come to England, and it came in a different shape from that which it had assumed in Italy and Germany and France. But when it came it gave us Spencer and Bacon and Shakespeare. Would the glory of England suffer most if Drake had never sailed round the world, and the defeat of the Armada had never taken place, or if the works of Bacon and Shakespeare had never been written? There is no need to answer the question. But the limits and character of this little book do not allow me to do more than mention these great names.

Two vols. in *Longmans' Political History of England*, one by Fisher and the other by Pollard, cover this period, and both are excellent; *Froude's History of England* goes from the fall of Wolsey to the Armada, and has many brilliant pieces of description; *Gairdner's Henry VII.*, *Creighton's Wolsey*, and *Beesly's Queen Elizabeth*, in the "Twelve English Statesmen," are all useful books; *Pollard's Henry VIII. and Protector Somerset*.

CHAPTER VII

The Thirty Years' War in Germany

Beginning of the struggle in Bohemia . . .	1618
Edict of Röstition	1629
Battle of Breitenfeld	1631
Battle of Lutzen	1632
Peace of Westphalia	1648

WE have not devoted attention to the affairs of Germany since the Peace of Augsburg (1555). We saw that the terms of that peace made it clear that the efforts of the Emperor to reimpose

Catholicism on all Germany, even in a modified form, had failed. Each of the many sovereign states of Germany was left to take its own line in religious matters. The peace was a mere breathing-space. None of the pressing questions had been settled.

It is easy to see what were the chief causes of the great conflagration which was to afflict Germany for thirty years. **Cause of the Thirty Years' War.** The Peace of Augsburg had extended toleration to Lutherans alone; and since the peace, Calvinism had gained a very strong hold on Germany. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg were Calvinists, and they were important forces in Germany. What was to be the position of these Calvinist states in the Germany of the future? Next, the Peace of Augsburg had laid it down that all ecclesiastical states (and they were many and powerful in Germany), which had become Protestant before 1552, should remain so, but that no conversions after 1552 could be recognized. Now since 1552, eight bishoprics had become Protestant. According to the Treaty of Augsburg, they should have been handed over to Catholic rulers, but they were in fact possessed by Protestant and secular rulers in defiance of the stipulations of the peace.

But there were other causes independent of the Peace of Augsburg. Since 1555 the Catholic reaction had spread and achieved extraordinary success in Germany. **The Catholic reaction in Germany.** The preaching of the Jesuits and the activity of the Inquisition had completely expelled Protestantism from Austria, Bavaria, and the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. These and other victories raised the hopes of Catholicism once more. It seemed possible that in Germany, the original home of Protestantism, it might be utterly destroyed and that the whole country might return to the Roman obedience. Maximilian of Bavaria, and Ferdinand of Austria, soon to be emperor, were warm supporters of Catholicism in its new and aggressive phase. And while Catholicism was thus confident, the Protestant enthusiasm had notably cooled. The Protestant outlook was unquestionably dark.

The Thirty Years' War did not spring wholly from religious causes. It was also a great effort on the part of the

Empire to reassert its authority in Germany; to counteract the political disintegration that had gone on in the organization of the Empire since the thirteenth century; and to make the Emperor the real ruler and not merely the titular head of all German states.

Political ambitions of the Emperor.

Thus, though the course of the struggle is difficult and obscure, the issues at stake are plain.

Bohemia had been the scene of fierce anti-Catholic movements long before the Reformation, and Protestant opinions had a strong hold there, especially among the nobles.

In 1618 the long smouldering fires broke into flame.

Ferdinand of Austria, the future Emperor, and a strong supporter of the Catholic Reaction, had been

The first phase: the Bohemian War.

~~elected~~ King. But when, in defiance of imperial promises, he proceeded to demolish Protestant churches he encountered strong opposition. There was fierce rioting in Prague which led to the outbreak of war between Protestant Bohemia and the forces of Catholicism and the Empire. Without help the Bohemian Lutherans could not hope to maintain their cause. They appealed in vain to the Lutheran Elector of Saxony, but at last prevailed upon Frederick, the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, to accept the Bohemian crown and champion their cause. But he had neither the character nor the power to carry through the enterprise to a successful issue. By 1622 the imperial forces had not only triumphed in Bohemia, but had driven the Elector Palatine from all his territories in the upper and lower Palatinate. It was a great victory for the forces of Catholicism and the Empire, and seemed to promise still greater.

The Bohemian war had been a comparatively small affair, but now German affairs began to demand the attention of all Europe. Frederick, the Elector Palatine, was son-in-law of James I. of England, and he eagerly desired to see him reinstated in his dominions. But all the neighbours of Germany were deeply concerned in the prospect of a vast advance in the power and activity of the Empire, which was closely connected by relationship and alliance with Spain. To France this Austro-Spanish power was the traditional enemy, and in the end decisive interference came from the side of France.

The second phase: Wallenstein. Jealousy of the Empire.

But at first it was rather the Protestant kings of Denmark and Sweden who saw with alarm the growth of a power which they feared for both religious and political reasons. It was King Christian of Denmark who first came forward to the support of the Protestant cause, and the Empire was threatened at the same time by an insurrection in Hungary. But there appeared on the imperial side a great soldier, Wallenstein. He was a Bohemian and a Protestant by birth, but he had become a Roman Catholic and attached himself to the imperial service. He was a great soldier and a capable organizer; he attracted the military adventurers of all countries to his standard by promises of high and regular pay, and men of all religions were welcome. He soon crushed all the enemies of the Empire. The forces of Christian of Denmark were entirely defeated and forced into the service of Wallenstein. He besieged and occupied most of the towns on the Baltic, though Stralsund offered a successful resistance. In spite of this important check, he was so successful by 1629 that the Emperor could force his will on Germany in the Peace of Lübeck and the Edict of Restitution. By the first, Christian of Denmark was compelled to abandon all his claims within the Empire; while by the Edict of Restitution it was declared that all Church lands "secularized" since the Peace of Augsburg must be restored to the Catholic Church. The great archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, and more than a hundred smaller ecclesiastical states, were affected by the edict.

The imperial and Catholic victory seemed complete. Who could resist Wallenstein's army? Yet the very completeness of the victory raised difficulties. The smaller powers of Germany saw with profound alarm the measures of religious persecution undertaken by the government, and even the allies of Ferdinand feared to be overshadowed by his power. Wallenstein was already entertaining designs which would carry him beyond the position of a subject. And if Sweden and France had been jealous of the imperial position in 1622, what were their feelings likely to be now? It was from Sweden that the next interference came.

The danger in which German Protestantism stood, and the attack which Wallenstein had made on the possessions of Sweden to the south of the Baltic, were a direct challenge to the King of Sweden; and events in Germany soon gave him a good opportunity for interference.

The third phase : Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

In 1630 the Emperor summoned the diet of the Empire to Ratisbon. His chief anxiety was to secure the election of his son, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans—a title which would give him an assured prospect of succeeding to the Empire on his father's death. But he found the diet in no yielding mood. The electors felt that the growing power of the Emperor threatened their independent existence, and they saw in Wallenstein his most dreaded agent. They refused to make any concession until Wallenstein was dismissed, and the Emperor was at last forced to consent to his dismissal. Wallenstein retired in bitter indignation into Bohemia, and, men said, "seemed to carry the imperial crown with him." He was succeeded as general of the imperial forces by Tilly, a far weaker man.

The Diet of Ratisbon.

The retirement of Wallenstein gave an opportunity for further interference on behalf of the Protestants of Germany, and the opportunity was seized by Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden. He had personal and territorial interests in the contest; but he was genuinely ready to fight and suffer in the cause of Protestantism. He landed near Stralsund in 1630, with an army of forty thousand men. He was sincerely religious and devout, but intensely practical and energetic, and had real genius for the conduct of military operations. His troops were well disciplined and kept from the licence and plunder which disgraced the other armies during the Thirty Years' War. He introduced new methods into warfare, moved his troops with greater rapidity than had been previously used, and made more use of firearms. Note, too, that Gustavus received important assistance from France. France was at this time practically governed by the great Cardinal Richelieu; and Richelieu saw with increasing anxiety the development of the imperial power in Germany. He made a treaty with Gustavus, and granted him assistance in money.

Landing of Gustavus Adolphus.

At first the Protestant powers of Germany looked askance at their great deliverer: they mistrusted Gustavus as a foreigner, and the Calvinists suspected him as a Lutheran. But the victories of King Gustavus. the victories and the frightful excesses of the imperial armies under Tilly soon drove them into alliance with him. In 1631 he was joined by Brandenburg and Saxony, two of the most powerful of the German states. Thus supported, he struck irresistibly into the centre of Germany. In September, 1631, he fought the great battle of Breitenfeld,



Gustavus Adolphus.

Born, 1594; invades Germany, 1630; gains the battle of Breitenfeld, 1631; killed at Lützen, 1632.

near Leipzig, and completely overthrew the imperial forces. Vienna seemed at his mercy; but instead of attacking the Austrian capital he turned westwards against the ecclesiastical states of the Upper Danube and the Rhine. Nowhere was any serious resistance made to him; Bavaria and the Rhine lands fell into his power.

So portentous did this power and the victories of Gustavus Adolphus seem to be that the Emperor

had to turn to the great soldier whom he had dis-

missed with contumely; for if any one could save the Empire it was Wallenstein. He only consented to resume his command on terms that made him almost master of Germany. But he collected a great army—the prestige of his name was sufficient to make soldiers flock to his banner—and he faced Gustavus in November, 1632, at Lützen, near to the battlefield of Breitenfeld. In the great battle that followed Gustavus was victorious, but died in the moment of victory. Wallenstein's death followed shortly afterwards. He was too powerful for a subject. He assumed the position of an independent ruler. It seemed as though the Emperor would have to struggle

against his own general; but in February, 1634, Wallenstein was assassinated by the Emperor's agents.

The deaths of Gustavus and Wallenstein might seem to balance one another, but without Gustavus the Protestants were too weak to struggle against their enemies. In September, 1634, the Swedish and Protestant forces under Bernard of Saxe-Weimar were utterly defeated at Nördlingen. So overwhelming was the defeat that both Brandenburg and Saxony joined the imperial side. The triumph of Austria and the Catholic reaction seemed assured.

Protestantism in Germany was saved by Catholic France; the great agent in its deliverance was a cardinal of the Church of Rome. We shall see in the next chapter how France was growing united and strong, while Germany was falling into hopeless disunion. The interest of Richelieu in the Thirty Years' War was entirely political. The Austrian house and the allied Spanish house had now for generations been the great enemy and rival of France. If the Empire were to become a centralized and effective government instead of the loose and helpless confederation which it was at present, the power of France would be seriously threatened. So when, after the battle of Nördlingen, it was clear that Germany would fall helplessly into the hands of the Empire unless help came from outside, Richelieu determined to give that help; and in 1635 France openly entered into the war against the Empire and Spain.

The fourth phase: the interference of France. Richelieu and his aims.

We need not give any details. It is enough to say that at first France was by no means successful. Her untrained armies were defeated by the veteran soldiers who had been trained in the terrible experiences of the Thirty Years' War. But the French profited by their disasters. Richelieu and, after Richelieu's death in 1642, his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, were great organizers and diplomatists. Great generals such as Turenne and Condé rose up on the side of France; Spain and the Empire were terribly exhausted; and at last, in 1648, thanks to the skill of the French generals and the diplomatic astuteness of Cardinal Mazarin, the long agony of the Thirty Years' War was brought to an end by the great

The victory of France.

Peace of Westphalia. The general results of the war, as laid down in this famous and important peace, must be carefully noted.

The effort of the Emperors to control and unite the Empire had been wholly defeated. The Peace of Westphalia declared that the Empire could no longer be regarded as an effective state. It was henceforth clearly a loose confederation of states, large and small (the number as fixed by the peace was 348), and within the Empire there was no power that could enforce on all the acceptance of laws, or the levying of soldiers, or the granting of taxes. The Austrian or Hapsburg Emperors having thus failed, a chance was left for some other power to secure the leadership of Germany, and perhaps succeed where Austria had failed. We shall see how this task was carried out with wonderful success by the Electors of Brandenburg, who soon came to be called Kings of Prussia. We may note, too, that by the peace the United Netherlands and Switzerland were legally declared to be, what they had actually long been, independent of the Empire.

France had gained much in prestige during the later years of the war, and the exhaustion of the Empire and Spain left her the chief Power in Europe. She made also considerable territorial gains. Upper and Lower Alsace, "with all the rights that formerly belonged to the Empire," were ceded to her by the peace, and she became formally possessed of the "Three Bishoprics" of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their territories; and these gains were a very material strengthening of her eastern frontier.

Note further that with the Peace of Westphalia the era of the Reformation may be said to come to an end. It ended in a drawn battle. The early hopes of the Reformers, that Roman Catholicism would be entirely destroyed, were now quite abandoned; and the effort of the Catholic reaction, to win back all Europe to the Roman obedience, had also failed. Henceforth both forms of religion would have to exist side by side in Europe, and some form of religious toleration became a prime necessity of all progressive states.

The Thirty Years' War, at the course of which we have glanced, was the cruellest and most destructive of all modern wars. The destruction of population by war, pestilence, **Rise of** and famine had been enormous: it has been esti- **international** mated that at least a half of the population of **law.** Germany perished. But the very foulness and barbarity of the contest produced a valuable reaction. The great Dutchman, Grotius, appalled by a war which seemed to "let loose every crime," meditated on the possibility of discovering some check on the worst excesses of war, and in his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625), laid the foundations of international law.

Henderson's History of Germany; Gardiner's Thirty Years' War (Epochs of Modern History); *Fletcher's Gustavus Adolphus* (Heroes of the Nations); *Schiller's Wallenstein and Piccolomini.*

CHAPTER VIII

The Growth of the French Monarchy

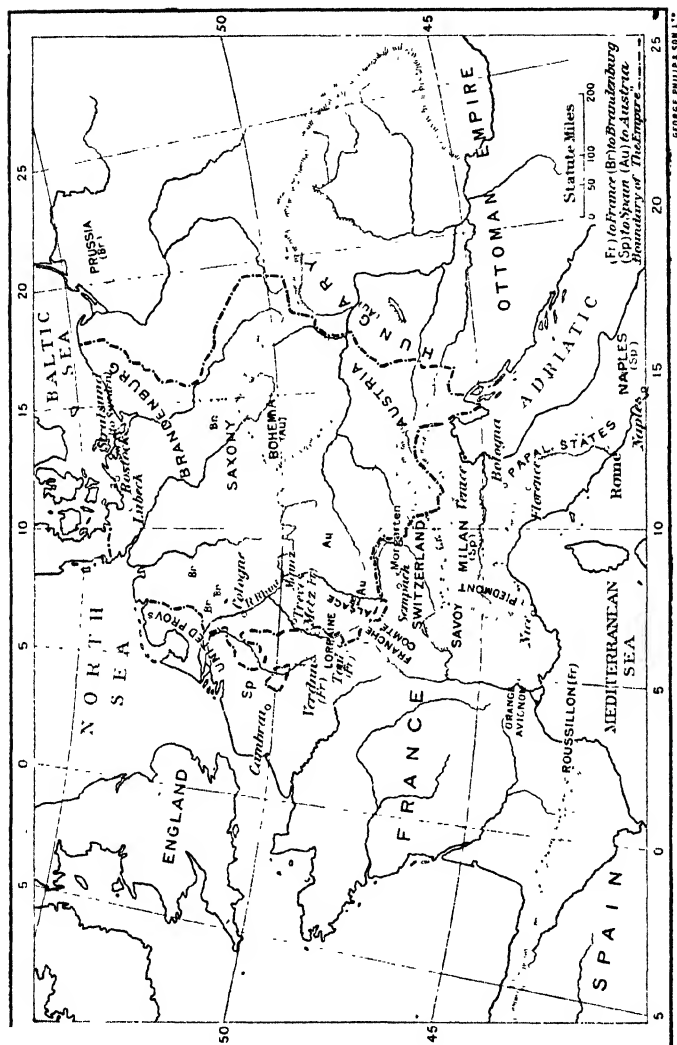
Cardinal Richelieu in chief influence . . .	1624
Capture of Rochelle	1628
Death of Richelieu	1642
Outbreak of the Fronde	1648
Triumph of Mazarin	1653
Peace of the Pyrenees	1659

FRANCE was the one great Power in Europe during the seventeenth century. While the Empire was engaged in a suicidal war, while Spain was sinking under the strain of her empire, and England was occupied **The supremacy of** with the domestic problems that led to the Puritan **France.** Revolution, France meanwhile was growing in unity, and her government was more and more completely concentrated in the hands of the monarchy. By the middle of the century she was distinctly superior to any single rival, and showed herself able to hold her own against the powerful coalitions that were formed against her.

The result of the civil wars of the Reformation period had been to strengthen the monarchy ; and Henry IV. had made the authority of the crown supreme over all rivals—
 Reaction after the death of Henry IV. over States-General, Parlements, and religious organizations. But at his death his son was only nine years of age, and there seemed a chance that the discontented elements of French society might manage to overthrow or to weaken the authority of the crown. There followed a period of unrest and reaction. The nobles and the Protestants rose in civil war. They insisted upon the summoning of the States-General, and in 1614 this cumbrous representative body met for the last time before the French Revolution. But the reaction was superficial. The real movement in France was toward a strong monarchy, and when, in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu became the young king's chief minister, he devoted himself with complete success to the development of the power of the absolute monarchy.

Cardinal Richelieu's position in history is a very strange one. He was a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, and yet he was, for the most part, in league with Protestants against the forces of Catholicism. He was the chief agent of the crown, and worked incessantly for the advancement of the French monarchy, and yet he was always at variance with the members of the royal family, and not always on the best of terms with the king himself. He was no royalist of the English Cavalier pattern ; he looked upon the monarchy not as an end, but as a means—as a means to the strength and glory of France. He was a sincere Catholic, but the politician in him was far stronger than the ecclesiastic, and hence it was that he was so often in conflict with the pope and the Catholic reaction in Europe. The double object of all his policy was (1) to raise the authority of the crown in France above all rival powers, and (2) to make France the dominant power in Europe. He succeeded wonderfully in both objects.

Let us take his domestic policy first. The rivals by which the authority of the crown seemed threatened were chiefly the Protestants and the aristocracy, and we have seen that in France Protestantism and aristocracy were closely related.



Europe in the Seventeenth Century

Richelieu had no feelings of religious antagonism against the Huguenots of France, but he feared them as a political force.

Domestic policy of Richelieu. The Edict of Nantes had given them dangerous powers, and they had used them during the minority of Louis XIII. to produce a dangerous civil war. Richelieu struck against their privileges again and again; and the end came in 1628. Then the great **Siege of Rochelle.** cardinal led the royal forces against La Rochelle, the stronghold of Protestantism. The siege that followed is one of the most memorable in history. The Huguenots fought with heroic stubbornness, but in the end starvation did its work, and the city surrendered. The Huguenots were left religious liberty and civil equality, but their legal and military guarantees were taken from them. Henceforward, they were told, they must trust only "to the word of a king." Sixty years later they found how delusive a thing that was to trust to!

The blow that had fallen upon the Huguenots was in itself a serious check to the power of the nobles. But

Richelieu's measures against the aristocracy. Richelieu knew them to be the most serious enemies of the crown, and reduced their power still further. Any unruliness on the part of noblemen was punished with exceptional severity.

Richelieu says "he was harsh to the few in order that he might be kind to the many." Some of the greatest of the French aristocracy atoned on the scaffold for intrigues or rebellion against him. Further, he destroyed their great fortified castles, by virtue of which they had been important military powers in the earlier centuries. But the chief blow which he struck against their power was by excluding them from the work of government and administration, which had

Intendants. previously been largely in their hands. Henceforth the local government of France was in the hands of royal *intendants*, men usually drawn from the middle class of society, and sent into the provinces to represent the royal authority. The nobles of France remained rich, and had great social influence, and held all the important posts in the army, but henceforth, until the coming of the Revolution, they had little influence on the government of France. They

had wrestled with the monarchy for five centuries and were now completely overthrown.

Great as was Richelieu's influence on the domestic life of France, it is as a foreign statesman and diplomatist that he is best known. He possessed great strength of will, a deep knowledge of the political condition of Europe, and he was unsurpassed in diplomatic skill. His great effort was to counteract the schemes of the Austro-Spanish power, and to raise the power of France amidst the confusion and wars of the century. Even before France actually threw herself into the war, the persistence, energy, and skill of Richelieu had made the influence of France preponderate in the Thirty Years' War, and we have already seen that it was the military power of France which brought the great struggle in Germany to an end in 1648.

He had done his work amidst constant intrigues against his power and authority. His bearing in the face

Richelieu's relation to the king.



Cardinal Richelieu.

Born, 1585; Minister of Louis XIII., 1624; died, 1642.

of these intrigues, the half-sympathy of King Louis XIII. with them, and Richelieu's final triumph over them, give to history some of its most romantic pages. It is impossible even to glance at them here. It is enough to emphasize that the absolute monarchy of France was more the work of Richelieu than of any other single statesman. The great age of French history deserves to be called rather the Age of Richelieu than the Age of Louis XIV.

His death in December, 1642, was soon followed by that of his royal master, Louis XIII., in May, 1643. The removal of these two great figures left the field open for renewed

intrigues on the part of the nobility; for Louis XIV. was a child only five years old, and it did not at first seem that Richelieu had any capable successor. The government of France was in the hands of the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, and she lacked entirely the character and talents necessary for beating down the turbulent elements of French society.

Under these circumstances, then, there broke out the movement which is known as the "Fronde." It was, in effect, the last rally of the discontented elements of French society against the power of the monarchy, the last before the great Revolution of 1789,



Louis XIV.

Born, 1638; began to reign, 1643; died, 1715.

in which the monarchy and the old order both disappeared. It was partly stimulated by the contemporary Puritan and Parliamentary movement in England, and at first aimed at procuring for France a constitutional form of government. But the past history of France made such an enterprise very difficult. In England, representative and parliamentary institutions had struck so deep a root that it would have required a force greater than that of the Stuarts to have destroyed them. But in

France the position was quite different. The king had been for centuries the real representative of the French people, and had usually taken their part against the nobility. The States-General were no necessary part of French political life, and at this juncture the aspirations of France towards a constitution found a voice not in the States-General, but in the Parlement of Paris. The Parlement of Paris was not a representative body at all, either in the method of its appointment or in its character. It was a body of lawyers and

judges, who were concerned primarily not with the making of the laws, but with the administration of justice. They held their office by hereditary right, and, though there were noble and patriotic figures among their numbers, their outlook was that of lawyers, not of statesmen. Thus the first constitutional phase of the Fronde was soon over, and it was succeeded by a movement of mere aristocratic opposition to the crown. Prince Condé, a great soldier, who had distinguished himself in the war against Spain, was the chief actor in this "aristocratic Fronde," and it derives its chief interest from his struggle with his greater and nobler rival, Marshal Turenne.

In resisting these dangers the queen-regent relied on her favourite and minister, Cardinal Mazarin. He had been chosen by Richelieu as his successor, and, though he lacked altogether Richelieu's nobility of character and his extraordinary energy, he continued his policy with consummate skill and success. He was an Italian by origin, and never completely at home in France, and his foreign origin was one reason why he was so bitterly hated by the French nobles. His real skill shows itself in diplomacy and the handling of foreign affairs; in his relations to the Fronde he was subtle, elusive, often apparently defeated, but in the end victorious. The nobles were not popular in France, though the city of Paris gave them for a time its support. It told heavily against them that they consented to an alliance with the national enemy, Spain; and Condé, who had gained his great victories over Spanish soldiers, now commanded those very soldiers against his own countrymen. So Mazarin and the queen-mother triumphed. Condé was condemned to death in his absence; Parlement was forbidden to concern itself with affairs of state; government by *intendants* was re-established; and after 1653 the authority of the king was restored without rival in France.

Meanwhile Mazarin had been conducting the foreign affairs of France with signal success. The later stages of the Thirty Years' War were influenced by him, and the peace of Westphalia was a proof of his diplomatic skill. We have seen something of these events already, and need not go through them again. But we must note carefully that though the Peace of Westphalia brought the Thirty

Cardinal
Mazarin.

Mazarin and
the war with
Spain.

Years' War to an end, it did not give peace to France. The Empire had retired from the struggle, but Spain remained in the field, and ten more years of dragging warfare ensued before Mazarin terminated the Spanish struggle in a manner satisfactory to France. It was the civil war of the Second Fronde which allowed the war with Spain to be thus prolonged, but, even when France was at peace within her own borders, her exhaustion was so great that she seemed incapable of delivering the final blow to Spain. However, in 1657, Cardinal Mazarin—the Catholic royalist—negotiated an alliance with the regicide Puritan Cromwell (although the wife of Charles I. was aunt of Louis XIV.), and it was the English Ironsides that brought the war to an end. Condé and the Spaniards were beaten near Dunkirk in 1658, and shortly afterwards Spain accepted, at the hands of France, the Treaty of the Pyrenees. France gained no great amount of territory by this peace, though certain cessions by Spain rounded off the French frontier to the north and south. The most important point was that a marriage was arranged between King Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, princess of Spain. At the time of the marriage the king solemnly promised that he would never make any claim upon the territories of Spain by virtue of this marriage. We shall see how soon he broke this promise, and how this marriage was the direct cause of two wars, the latter of which was one of the most disastrous that France had ever waged.

Lodge's Richelieu (Foreign Statesmen); Richelieu by J. B. Perkins (Heroes of the Nations); France under Richelieu and Colbert, by J. H. Bridges.

CHAPTER IX

The Ascendency of France under Louis XIV

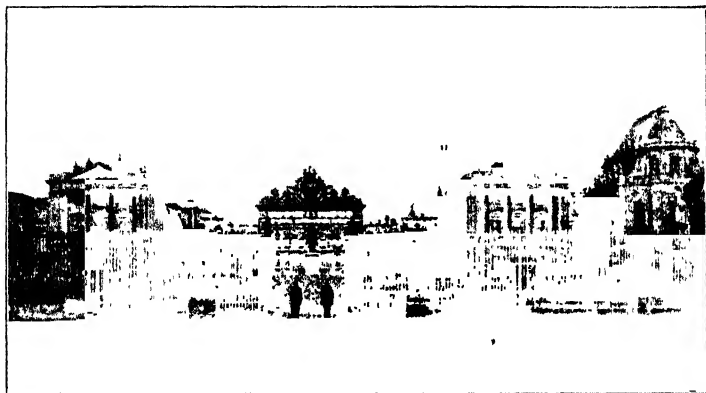
Colbert, Finance Minister	1661
Invasion of Holland	1672
Seizure of Strassburg	1681
Revocation of Edict of Nantes	1685
War with the Grand Alliance	1688
War of Spanish Succession	1701
Peace of Utrecht	1713

RICHELIEU and Mazarin had done their work effectively. The French monarchy held an ascendancy in Europe greater than had been held by any monarchy since the days of the Carolingian empire. Louis XIV. had begun to reign in 1643, in his sixth year, but while Mazarin lived the affairs of France were always in the hands of the great minister. When he died, however, in 1661, Louis XIV. declared that he would have no other "First Minister," and that it was henceforth his intention to rule as well as reign. He accomplished his purpose; he controlled the destinies of France for fifty-five years, and as long as he lived he was the most prominent figure in Europe. He was not a man of genius, or a really great statesman; but he was capable, energetic, and dignified. So great was the prestige of the French monarchy under him that its etiquette and its manners soon spread to all other courts in Europe.

While Louis XIV. reigned, many wars were fought, and the position of the European powers materially altered; but more important than his wars and his diplomacy was the type of civilization which was developed in France during "the Age of Louis XIV." There was unquestionably a great refinement of manners, the king himself setting the example of a dignified courtesy, and this refinement has never ceased to act on European society. The provincial differences of France were also to a great extent destroyed. An uniform system of administration and type of civilization spread over all France. At the same time the literary and intellectual movement which had begun in the days

Character-
istics of
the Age of
Louis XIV.

of Richelieu and Mazarin culminated, and the dramatists and critics of France became the arbiters of taste for all Europe. The French drama reached its highest development in the hands of Corneille, Racine, and Molière; and, though the French type of drama was very different from that established in England by Shakespeare, it gave to the world in tragedy a very noble and stimulating form of art, while in pure comedy the work of Molière has not been surpassed or equalled. But it was not only in the lighter forms of literature that the age of Louis



The Palace of Versailles.

The Palace of Versailles was the creation of Louis XIV. It is believed to have cost nearly twenty million pounds sterling; and was only one of many palaces possessed by the Kings of France. The ambitious building schemes of the Kings of France were a very heavy burden to the finances of the State.

XIV. was great; it contributed also great names to philosophy and thought. Descartes is one of the world's most fundamental thinkers, and only a little inferior in importance is the work of Bossuet and Pascal. The "Age of Louis XIV." marks a very great advance in European culture.

The early years of Louis XIV.'s reign were much influenced by his great minister, Colbert, and under his reforming guidance Colbert's the economic condition of France wonderfully reforms. improved. It appeared for a time that France was going to set her heart on pacific progress to the neglect of

military glory ; and in all the reforms of the early years of Louis XIV.'s rule, Colbert had an important influence. (1) He made great changes in the administration of the (a) The finances. It had been the custom of the French finances. Governments to farm out the collection of the taxes to middlemen (called *partisans*), who paid down a sum of money to the Government and then made what profit they could by exacting the taxes from the people. This indirect method of tax-collecting was as old as the Roman Empire, but it was wasteful, oppressive, and irritating. Colbert maintained the system in principle, but by careful supervision and the rigorous enforcement of justice at once decreased the burdens of the people and increased the income of the State. (2) Colbert did his utmost also to stimulate French commerce. He found that the world's trade was for the most part in the hands of England (b) Commerce. and Holland, and was carried out by them chiefly through the agency of trading companies. Colbert founded several companies (the most important were the West Indian Company, and the East Indian Company) to compete with the English and the Dutch. (3) He further introduced industries into France, and endeavoured to promote (c) Industry. and maintain them by means of great protective duties. Weaving, stocking-making, glass and lace-making were thus planted in France, and though some of them subsequently decayed, partly in consequence of the protective system, it is unquestionable that Colbert's changes added very much to the wealth of France. Other reforms were about the same time made in the organization of the army and navy, and in the administration of justice. The king was admirably served by great statesmen, diplomatists, and soldiers. In addition to Colbert there were such men as Turenne and Condé, the great soldiers ; Vauban, the great engineer ; Lionne, the diplomatist ; Louvois, the organizer of war.

But before the rule of Louis XIV. had lasted long these peaceful and administrative changes gave place to war, and the rest of his reign, which was prolonged for another half century, was almost continuously occupied with war or the preparation for it.

In 1665, King Philip IV. of Spain died, and was succeeded

by the half imbecile Charles II., the brother of Louis XIV.'s queen, Maria Theresa. At the time of the marriage Louis XIV. had promised never to assert any claims to the Spanish inheritance which might come to him through his wife; but now, without real justification, he claimed a large portion of the Spanish Netherlands. War came in 1667, and Spain could make no resistance to the armies of France, large, splendidly equipped, and finely led. It seemed that all Spanish lands on the northern frontier of France would be overrun and occupied by France. But then other European powers—England, Holland, and Sweden—interfered, and Louis XIV. consented to a peace whereby he retained only a strip of the Spanish Netherlands (1668). It was not a very important campaign, but it gives us on a small scale the characteristic of his whole reign. We see an aggression on the territory of his neighbour resisted by a European coalition. Aggressions and coalitions followed one another, until his reign ended in exhaustion and defeat.

Holland had taken a leading part in resisting him, and it was upon Holland that the next blow fell. Louis XIV. hated Holland as a republic, a trade rival, and as the supporter of Protestantism and freedom of thought. Almost without the pretence of an excuse, the French armies invaded the country in 1672, and at first carried all before them. The United Provinces (for that is the correct name of the state) humbly begged for peace, and offered large concessions; but France insisted on terms so humiliating that they had no option but to fight on. Her people showed the same heroic endurance which they had shown in fighting against Spain. They raised William of Orange (afterwards King William III. of England) to be their commander. Allies came to their assistance—England, the Empire, and Spain, and at last, in 1678, France accepted the Peace of Nimwegen, whereby she gained Franche Comté, upon her eastern frontier at the expense of Spain. Her armies had gained great glory during the war, but the gains were far smaller than at one time seemed possible. Still, Louis was decidedly the first power in Europe, and, after the Peace of Nimwegen, he occupied large districts in Alsace (including the important city of Strassburg, 1681) and elsewhere,

upon the ground that they legally formed part of the cessions, made to France by the Peace of Westphalia. Europe would have resisted these acquisitions by war, if Europe had been strong enough, but the nations were weary of fighting, and therefore the indignation with which they regarded these French acquisitions did not issue in open conflict.

Up to this point the reign of Louis XIV. had been glorious and uniformly successful. But now the time of his success, though not of his military glory, was nearly over. Each of the subsequent wars which France waged during his reign were closed with loss and the admission of defeat.

What were the causes of this change? It was partly due to the fact that the resources of France were being exhausted in this continual warfare; Colbert, before his death, saw many of his best reforms sacrificed to the exigencies of the moment. It was partly due to the growing suspicion and indignation of the European powers against France. They regarded Louis XIV. as a dangerous and aggressive power, against whom it was the duty of all European Powers to unite for their common safety. But it also stands in close relation to a change which was passing over the temper of the king, which made him adopt a series of measures of religious persecution, which struck a fatal blow against the strength of France.

The king's early life had been licentious and largely devoted to the pursuit of pleasure. But of late Madame de Maintenon, the governess of his children, had been gaining a great influence over his life and opinions. He repented of his early errors and turned, with great devotion, to the practice of religion. In 1683, his wife, Maria Theresa, died, and soon after he married Madame de Maintenon, though the marriage was never officially announced. A great change came over the character of the court. It lost its old gaiety and frivolity, and became austere and almost puritanical in character. There was much in the new ideals that was beautiful and noble; but Catholicism insisted on the necessity of uniformity in matters of religion and had never accepted the ideas of religious toleration. Thus it came to pass that the king felt it to be his imperative duty to withdraw

toleration from the Protestants of France ; and in so doing to inflict a fatal blow upon France herself.

We have seen how the Huguenots of France had been granted religious toleration and equality of civil rights by the great Edict of Nantes in 1598. We have seen, too, how Richelieu had taken away the military and legal privileges which were connected with the edict ; but he had still left the Huguenots their civil and religious liberties. They had taken no part in the Wars of the Fronde. They were without question an entirely loyal people, and they had done more than any other section of the population to promote the industrial and commercial projects of Colbert. Apart from religious bigotry, there was no reason to attack them.

But the king and his advisers (the great Bossuet must be mentioned as one of the chief of these) were determined to force them into conformity with the king's religion. For many years pressure was brought to bear on them. They were excluded from the service of the Crown ; apostasy was rewarded ; Protestant "temples" were destroyed on various pretexts. The number of professing Protestants was by these means largely diminished. At last, in October, 1685, it was determined to withdraw the Edict of Nantes altogether, and Protestantism ceased to be a legal form of worship in France. The whole procedure had been accompanied with calculated cruelty and brutal violence ; and for any efforts which the Protestants made to avert their fate they were cruelly punished. Thus the unity of the Catholic faith had been restored, but at a terrible cost. The oppressed Huguenots were forbidden to leave the country ; but the order was eluded and they emigrated by tens of thousands. They went to England, to Holland, and to Prussia ; and thus not only was some of the best blood of France drained away from her, but the strength of her Protestant enemies was materially increased.

As we approach the next great war, we must glance at English affairs. They were very critical for Louis XIV. In 1685, James II. had ascended the throne. He was an outspoken Catholic, and his Catholicism would necessarily bring him into alliance with France. But from the first he offended

English sentiment, and Louis XIV. saw with alarm the coming of the revolution of 1688. Upon the issue of those events it would depend whether England was to be the ally or the bitter enemy of France. We know that the latter was the actual result. James II. fled; William III. became king of England. His strongest political feeling was fear and hatred of the French ascendency, and henceforth England was the leading influence in all European coalitions against France.

Louis XIV.
and the
English
revolution.

The result of the English revolution was the outbreak of a war between France and what came to be called the "Grand Alliance," consisting of England, Holland, Spain, the Empire, and Brandenburg (Prussia). It lasted for nine years and was fought out in three main arenas—in the Netherlands, on the seas, and in Ireland. The French troops still showed their former high military qualities, and, though Turenne and Condé were both dead, their generals still proved themselves the best in Europe. But though France could win battles on land, she was in the end defeated at sea and in Ireland. Her finances were utterly exhausted and her financial system ruined. In 1697 she accepted the Peace of Ryswick, by which many French conquests, made in the earlier wars, were restored, and the new *régime* in England was recognized.

The war of
the Grand
Alliance.

France sorely needed rest; but a greater struggle was now impending over her. The weakly, half-imbecile Spanish king was clearly dying. He was childless, and the future destiny of the Spanish dominions became at once the most urgent question of European diplomacy. Spain, it is true, was no longer a great power. Political and religious absolutism, the exhaustion produced by unceasing wars and a wretched financial system, and the burden of her colonial empire, had dragged her to a position far below that which she had held in the days of Charles V. and Philip II. But the extent of her territories, both in Europe and out of it, was so great that in the hands of a capable ruler, and under a better system, she might again become a vast force in European politics.

The question
of the
Spanish
succession.

And now what was to happen to these vast territories?

Were they to remain united or to be divided? Who was to inherit the whole or the bulk of them? European diplomacy has hardly ever had a more difficult question to face. There were three claimants—the royal house of France, the Imperial house, and the electoral house of Bavaria. All three stood at about the same distance of relationship from the dying king; but while the union between Spain and France or Spain and the Empire would wholly upset the European balance of power, the union between Bavaria and Spain would cause no such serious difficulty.

First an attempt was made by William III. and Louis XIV. to make some arrangement which would avoid the necessity of **The will of** war; but the death of the Bavarian prince and **Charles II.** the mutual jealousies of the powers made these efforts ineffectual. It became a struggle between France and the Empire: first a struggle of influence and diplomacy, and then one of war. In the earlier diplomatic struggle the French gained a complete success. The dying king was induced to make a will in favour of Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV., and after some hesitation, Louis XIV. decided to accept the bequest. He could hardly do otherwise. It would bring with it, indeed, war, but it would mean the practical union of France and Spain, and would bring the greatest gain in power and prestige ever made by the French crown.

So Louis XIV. accepted the bequest, and faced the great war. It was the war of the Grand Alliance over again, except **The war of** that now Spain was on the side of France. But **the Spanish** France got little help from Spain. Her finances **succession.** were in hopeless disorder; her military strength was decayed. She was, it has been said, "like a dead body tied to a living one." The alliance, on the other hand, was strong, united, resolute. Marlborough, the English commander, was perhaps the greatest of all English soldiers; and Prince Eugène, the commander of the imperial troops, worked with Marlborough throughout in cordial co-operation. Bavaria, irritated against the Empire, was the ally of France, and the Bavarian alliance offered France her best chance of success in the great struggle.

The war was prosecuted in five main theatres. There was

fighting in the Netherlands, which the allies wrested from the grasp of Spain, and through which they tried to penetrate into France; in Italy, where the Austrian armies fought, and in the end successfully, for the Spanish possessions in the Lombard plain; in France itself, where a serious civil war broke out as a result of the cruel suppression of the Protestants; in Bavaria; and in Spain. Bavaria was the critical point in the struggle during the early part of the war. It seemed as if a Bavarian and French army might dictate peace in Vienna. But the great battle of Blenheim (1704) destroyed that hope, and drove the French armies entirely out of Germany. After the battle of Blenheim, the fortune of war ran continuously against France. It was only in Spain that the allies met with serious defeats. At first the French and Spanish armies there were wholly defeated, and Madrid was taken; but then the national spirit of Spain rallied wonderfully, and in the end, though English troops captured and held Gibraltar (1704), the allies were driven out of the peninsula, and Spain was left mistress of her own destiny.



The Duke of Marlborough.

Born, 1650; battle of Blenheim, 1704; died, 1722.

The war went on until 1713 with cruel loss to France. Her finances were utterly exhausted; her government discredited; only her soldiers still showed themselves brave, and, even in defeat, worthy of respect. For some time Louis XIV. begged for peace in vain. But the overthrow of the Whigs in England, and the appointment of a Tory ministry favourable to peace, withdrew the English army from the struggle. Austria fought on a little longer; but in 1713 the long contest ended in the Peace of Utrecht.

By the Peace of Utrecht the allies gained far less than had at one time been well within their grasp. After all their

victories the French prince still reigned in Spain as Philip V., and France lost little territory. The chief territorial changes were these : (1) England (or Great Britain) gained Gibraltar from Spain, and Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay from France ; (2) Austria gained Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Netherlands from Spain ; (3) the Duke of Savoy, who had come over to the alliance during the course of the war, gained Sicily from Spain. It was an acquisition which, though it seemed unlikely at the time, led the Dukes of Savoy ultimately to the throne of Italy.

France thus lost surprisingly little at the peace, but she had suffered terribly during the war. Louis XIV. died in 1715 ; and with his death France sank for more than half a century from the position of European predominance which she had held for a century and a half.

Hassall's Louis XIV. (Heroes of the Nations) ; *Macaulay's Essay on the War of Spanish Succession*. For Spain, see *Spain, its Greatness and Decay*, by *Martin A. S. Hume*.

CHAPTER X

Great Britain under the Stuarts

Petition of Right	1628
Long Parliament	1640
Execution of Charles I	1649
Death of Cromwell	1658
Secret Treaty of Dover	1670
Popish Plot	1678
The Revolution	1688

THE great Tudors—Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth—are not altogether attractive rulers ; but their period was one of great success for England. The nation advanced in unity, in power and in consideration among the European powers. The Tudors and monarchy as a rule worked in harmonious co-operation with Parliament. Their age was made glorious by arts and letters. The Stuart Age is a great contrast. For unity and order there is confusion and civil war ; for harmony between king and Parliament there is continuous conflict, ending in the triumph of Parliament ; the State during a great part of the time declined in

power, and only grew strong under the rule of Cromwell; art and letters continued to flourish, but the great interest of the age belongs to religious controversy.

James I. succeeded to the crown of both Scotland and England. Thus the marriage arranged by Henry VII. had borne the desired fruit, and England and Scotland were in the hands of a single ruler. There was a great career possible for a strong and wise King. But James I. was neither strong nor wise, though

The crowns
of England
and Scotland
united.

he was learned and clever. Before his reign had come to an end he had undone a good deal of the work of Queen Elizabeth. He held ideas about the divine right of kings which none of the Tudors had held. Different things have been meant by this famous phrase at different epochs. James I. meant by it that kings held their power directly from God, that their power was unlimited, and that resistance to it was sin. The country was loyal, but it was not ready to subscribe to such doctrines as these. So James I. was constantly squabbling

James I.
quarrels with
Parliament.

with his Parliaments, especially because he tried to get money without asking them to grant it to him as taxes. This quarrel went on in different forms right down to the Revolution of 1688. The kings did not deny that no taxation could be levied except by grant of Parliament; but they constantly tried to raise money by means which they held were somewhat different from taxation. Then, too, the king quarrelled with his Parliament about religious matters. A strong wave of Presbyterianism was passing over England, and the king, who had known Presbyterianism in Scotland and had always found it opposed to the power of the monarchy, was determined to resist it in England. If he had been successful in his foreign policy much would have been forgiven to him; but he failed there continuously. He abandoned the alliance of France for that of Spain, but got no advantage by the change. He tried to interfere in the Thirty Years' War, but his interference brought little but failure and ridicule.

His foreign
policy.

Thus James I. had certainly weakened the throne, which came to his son Charles I. in 1625. He was a better man than his father; more able though not so learned; sincerely

religious and devoted to the Church of England, and possessed of a strong sense of duty. But he held the doctrine of the divine right of kings as strongly as his father. Thus two political theories and two policies were opposed to one another. Parliament and the



Charles I.

monarchy came to a definite collision, and Charles I.'s life and reign ended in a great tragedy.

It will be our chief object to notice by what stages Charles came into collision with Parliament. They fought for two things—politics and religion. Their contest turned on two chief questions. (1) Who was to rule in England? King alone? or Parliament alone? or the two combined? (2) Was the English Church to control the whole religious and moral life of Englishmen?

The issues
at stake.

or was there to be toleration of other bodies? And on what principle was the English Church itself to be organized?

Charles I.'s reign opened with a dismal failure abroad. He sent out an expedition to help the French Huguenots, who were being besieged by Richelieu in La Rochelle, and the expedition ended in complete failure. Parliament turned indignantly against

England and
La Rochelle.

the king and forced him to accept a statement of the rights of Englishmen, which is known as the Petition of Right. It was declared once more that taxes could not be levied without consent of Parliament, and that no Englishman could be imprisoned without being

Petition of
Rights.

tried. It was a great concession that Parliament thus wrung from him. But the king was not at all inclined to yield altogether to the dictation of Parliament. He denounced it in 1629, and for eleven years (until 1640) he ruled without a Parliament, raising money in spite of his promise by various expedients, the chief of which was the famous "Ship Money,"—money demanded from all the country for the building of ships to meet a supposed national emergency. The power and future of Parliament were in great danger.

Unparlia-
mentary
government.

Parliament was saved by a religious dispute which had its origin in Scotland. James I. had steadily tried to undermine the Presbyterian system there and to introduce into Scotland something like the episcopal govern- ment of the Church of England. Charles I. carried

Religious
controversy
in Scotland.

on the same idea, and insisted on the introduction into Scotland of a Book of Common Prayer, which followed closely the lines of the English Prayer-book. The result was an outbreak of war (the Bishops' War), in which such forces as the King could put into the field without the help of Parliament were forced to submission. Charles I. could not fight without enough money; he could not get enough money without Parliament; so he had once more, after an interval of eleven years, to summon Parliament.

So the Long Parliament came together in 1640. It was not a republican body; but it was determined to resist the king's claim to govern by his personal will both Church and State

The king yielded at first, but Parliament was encouraged by victory to demand more. It was exasperated also by the reported intrigues of the king with the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and by a rising of the Catholics in Northern Ireland against the Protestants.

So civil war came. The king's armies were victorious at first. He was supported by the north and west of England, by most of the aristocracy, and by the yeomen of England. Parliament had on its side the great cities, especially London, the south and east of England, and the trading classes. The yeomanry provided the king with a force of cavalry with which Parliament could not compete, until Cromwell rose to eminence and raised the army of the New Model, which defeated the king at Marston Moor (1644), and crushed him at Naseby (1645). But it was not only the prowess of Cromwell's new army which gained the victory. It was equally important that the Scotch had been induced to declare themselves on the side of Parliament. The English Parliament had to pay a heavy price for their help. They had to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, and promise that the English Church should be reformed on the Presbyterian model.

After the battle of Naseby the king became a prisoner in the hands of Parliament. But now there came a new turn of affairs. The army was the strangest army that Europe has ever known: largely self-governed and independent in its ideas; full of religious and political enthusiasm. Its ideas were not the ideas of Parliament. Under its leaders, especially Cromwell and Fairfax, it turned against Parliament. The king saw in this quarrel a chance of escape. He negotiated with the Scotch, and induced them to invade England, this time on his side. But the English army was equal to all dangers. The Scotch were beaten. Parliament was reduced to submission and obnoxious members were driven out by the army chiefs. Then Parliament, acting on the orders of the army, put Charles on his trial, and condemned and executed him (1649). A Republic or Commonwealth was then established.

It was the army that had done this. It was the army and Cromwell, its chief, who now had power in their hands. There were enemies on all sides. Ireland was in wild confusion, but nearly all parties there agreed in disliking Cromwell and his army. Scotland was hostile. The great majority of the people of England were opposed to the execution of the king, and to the religious and political ideas of Cromwell and his supporters. Cromwell was not a tyrant; he did not want to base his rule on the army. But the force of circumstances was too strong for him. If he allowed the will of the people free play he would be overthrown. While he lived his power was never shaken; but his weaker son failed to control the army, and then his power vanished at once.

Cromwell crushed Ireland with cruel vigour. He confiscated great tracts of the land, and distributed it among his soldiers and supporters. Then Scotland invited the son of Charles I. to reign over them, and Cromwell had to march into Scotland to avert danger from that side. He was in great danger for a time, but then his coolness and skill, and a certain measure of good fortune, triumphed over all obstacles. He beat the Scotch army at Dunbar, and crushed Charles II. at Worcester (1653). After that no enemy dared appear in the field against him.

He could beat down military opposition. He was not so successful with his political opponents. His position was an impossible one. He wanted to be a constitutional ruler, and to reign, under whatever title, by the consent of the people. But the people did not want him to rule at all, and he was driven back on the support of the army alone. He was declared Lord Protector. Parliament were elected on a reformed basis, which was rather like the arrangements which were adopted by the Reform Bill of 1832. But no sooner was a Parliament elected than it quarrelled with Cromwell, and was dismissed. No solution of the political difficulties had been reached when he died in 1658.

On his death the whole system toppled quickly down. His well-meaning weak son, Richard Cromwell, could not maintain his ascendancy in the army, and soon resigned. Then the

leaders of the army quarrelled. The nation at large saw with delight the weakening of this mighty force, which had made England feared and respected on the continent, but which at home had ruled in opposition to the wishes of the nation. All the parties began to hope—Royalists and Presbyterians, Churchmen and Parliamentarians, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Englishmen. And all were agreed on certain points. The monarchy must be restored, and a genuine Parliament must be summoned. The first act was to recall Charles II. from his exile in Holland.

Charles II. had led an adventurous and wandering life. For long it had seemed hardly possible that he would ever be king; but now he was welcomed back, apparently by a unanimous people with a frenzy of enthusiasm. He was a selfish, pleasure-loving king, without any sense of duty or real devotion to the people over whom he ruled. But he was cool-headed and superficially clever. He soon found that if the monarchy was restored, Parliament was restored also: and that the national belief in Parliament was as great, if not as noisily expressed, as the belief in monarchy. Soon the old contest between king and Parliament began again, almost as keenly as ever, though under rather different forms.

Many things told against Charles II. His Court was immoral and terribly expensive. England became engaged in a war with Holland, and suffered great humiliation. A Dutch fleet sailed into the Thames and blockaded London for some time. This failure was believed to be due to the king's support of unworthy ministers, and to his financial corruption. Public opinion, too, was still further exasperated by the Plague of London, and the Fire of London (1666), which took place during the Dutch war. For the present Parliament did not go further than the impeachment of the king's great minister, Clarendon.

The king looked round for assistance, and his hope always was to find it in an alliance with Louis XIV., the great King of France. He made with him in 1670 the Secret Treaty of Dover, by which Charles promised to join France in an attack on Holland, and Louis

XIV. promised to help him in setting up a strong monarchy in England, and in declaring himself an adherent of the Roman Catholic Church. But little came of all this that was favourable to the designs of the two kings. The Dutch war came, but we have seen (Chapter IX.) how the Dutch rallied from their first defeats, and soon Parliament forced Charles II. to withdraw from the war. There was no opportunity of realizing Charles II.'s political and religious aims.

But the Secret Treaty of Dover was worse than a mere failure. The facts about it became known or suspected. There rose up in consequence a party, which was **The Popish** soon known as the Whigs, violently opposed to **Plot**.

the power of the Crown, anxious to bring the monarchy into subjection to Parliament. Lord Shaftesbury was the inspirer and leader of the party, and it came near to winning a great success. For rumours were soon current of a Popish plot. It was alleged that the Catholics of England and Europe had made a plot to kill King Charles II., and secure the succession for his brother James, an avowed Roman Catholic. There was great alarm and widespread suspicion. Many people were arrested, and some were put to death on evidence which was certainly false. The Whigs meanwhile pressed forward an Exclusion Bill in Parliament, whereby James **The Exclu-** should be definitely declared incapable of succeed- **sion Bill**. ing to the throne. Charles felt the danger, for it was his power as well as his brother's succession that was struck at. He dismissed Parliament after Parliament, without finding one that was not bitterly opposed to him. But then there came a turn in the tide. The Whig agitation had been too violent. Men awoke to the folly and wickedness of the charges against the Catholics. There was a great reaction in the king's favour. He was able to call his brother James back from Scotland, and during the last three years of his reign the king seemed stronger and more popular than he had been since his restoration.

When James II. came to the throne in 1685 all the chances seemed favourable to the development of the power of the monarchy against that of Parliament. The Whigs seemed quite discredited. The House of Commons in the newly elected Parliament was as enthusiastically loyal as that which had

called back Charles II. It seemed that England might follow the example of France and of most European States, and found its Government on the unlimited power of the king. Perhaps the forces in the king's favour were not really so strong as they appeared. But what wrecked the reign of James II. was not a political force of any kind, but the religious passion of the English people; for James II. was an avowed and an ardent Roman Catholic.

The religious life of England had sunk low in many respects, but the vast majority of the people had a violent and unreasoning hatred and suspicion of anything connected with Rome and the Papacy. James II. desired to make the Crown absolute, and to permit the open profession of Roman Catholicism in England. The first aim roused enduring opposition; but it was the second—in itself right, safe, and desirable—which roused the storm that drove James II. from the throne.

The first year of the new reign saw risings in Scotland and the South of England; but they were easily suppressed, and their suppression added to the power of the king. He then revealed his plans. He proposed to annul the laws which had been passed against all—whether Protestants or Roman Catholics—who would not worship according to the rites of the Church of England. This would of course have given the Roman Catholics the liberty they desired. Parliament refused to accept the king's proposals and was dismissed. Then the king determined to accomplish his purposes without Parliament; to act, in fact, as Louis XIV. would have acted in France. He appointed Roman Catholics to the army; he forced them upon the Universities. Then he issued a Declaration of Indulgence removing the penalties on Dissenters. If the country would accept it both his ends were reached; Parliament was humiliated, and Roman Catholicism assured of liberty and influence. And if the country did not accept it, James II. hoped that he had so organized affairs in Ireland and Scotland that those countries would support him in beating down all opposition. A son was born to him in the crisis of the struggle, and he hoped therefore that if he won the victory it would be prolonged indefinitely into the future.

Defeated by the Protestantism of England.

Declaration of Indulgence.

All his plans failed through the unexpected vehemence of the opposition. The Whigs saw their chance, and a letter signed by seven of the most prominent men in England invited William, the Statholder of the United Provinces, who had married the daughter of King James II., to come over and save the allied causes of Protestantism and Constitutional Liberty in England. He came, and all James II.'s schemes collapsed like a house of cards. No serious blow was struck in England in his defence. He fled to France, where he was hospitably received by Louis XIV. The preparations that James had made in Scotland proved equally useless. A sudden rising swept away his political plans, and with them the English Church system which had been so laboriously planted there since the Restoration. England and Scotland had come together first through their common adhesion to the Protestant Reformation; they were now drawn closer again by their common devotion to Protestantism (though the Scotch form was widely different from the English) and to constitutional government. Ireland has a very different story to tell. The Irish supported James II. for the very reason that made the English and the Scotch abandon him. They were for the most part Roman Catholics, and the rule of England had been so oppressive to them that they welcomed any chance of throwing it off. They came near to success. The English and Protestant forces were besieged in Londonderry and Enniskillen. James II. was received with enthusiasm in Dublin. But then came a great change. Londonderry was relieved. William III. himself brought over an army to Ireland, and crushed the army of James II. at the battle of the Boyne. There was resistance still; but the Stuart and Catholic cause in Ireland after that could hope for no permanent military victory.

Thus was accomplished "the Revolution of 1688." It meant for England the definite establishment of the power of Parliament. Without the consent of Parliament no taxes of any sort could henceforth be levied, and no army could be maintained. It was Parliament that gave the throne to William III.; it was Parliament that arranged who should succeed him. The Roman Catholics

Invitation sent to William of Orange.

The Revolution in Scotland.

James II. and Ireland.

The Revolution of 1688.

remained in their former unjust condition, suspected of designs that they did not really harbour and excluded from politics, from the universities and from the learned professions. The Protestant dissenters got toleration; but nothing like the complete equality which was their due. It must be remembered too that Parliament, whose power was thus established, was not really representative of the whole nation, and was controlled by the landed aristocracy.

In Scotland a free Parliament and a Presbyterian church were firmly established; but Scotland was quite independent of England. They were only joined together by the fact that they had the same king; and soon there were bitter contentions between them about colonial and economic affairs. We may look forward to the reign of Queen Anne, and we may note that in the year 1707 a parliamentary union was at last arranged between the two countries, whereby Scotland entered into the full participation of the colonies and the trade of what must henceforth be called Great Britain.

For Ireland the Revolution meant the re-establishment of English and Protestant ascendancy. The century that follows is the most dismal century of her history.

A war with France came as the result of the Revolution, for Louis XIV. championed the cause of James II. It was a long and exhausting struggle, conducted by William III. with great tenacity; but it gave to the English troops hardly a single victory. France was, however, exhausted, and in 1697 accepted the Peace of Ryswick and recognized the Protestant succession in England.

William had no children. It had been settled by Parliament that after his death Anne, the sister of Queen Mary and daughter of James II., should succeed, and that then the throne should pass to the Protestant House of Hanover, if Anne had no children.

The reign of Anne was chiefly occupied with the War of the Spanish Succession, the origin and causes of which have been treated in Chapter IX. We need only deal here with domestic events. The chief was the negotiation of the union with Scotland which has been already alluded to. Then towards the end of the reign there

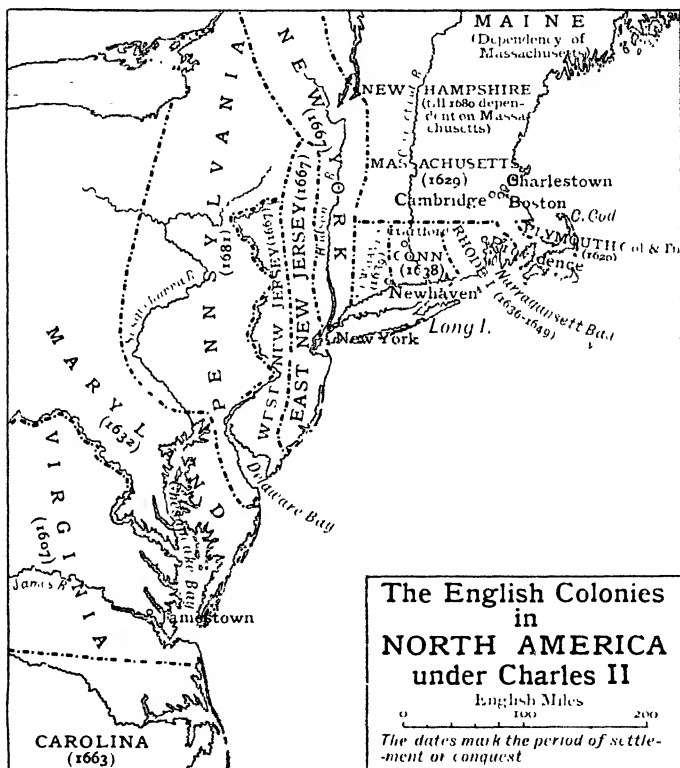
arose the great question whether the throne should pass to the House of Hanover, as had been arranged by the Jacobite Parliamentary Act of Succession, or whether the intrigue. Stuarts should be recalled. It seemed that the Stuarts had a good chance. The revolution of 1688 had been forced upon the country by the political and religious designs of James II., but it had never been really popular. The English Church still preached the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and if that doctrine were true the proper occupant of the English throne was the son of James II., who is usually known in English History as the Old Pretender. The Tory party supported that view. The queen herself would have liked to think that her half-brother would succeed her. An eager intrigue was conducted by Bolingbroke and Oxford to Bolingbroke secure the succession of the "Old Pretender." and Oxford. If he had not been a Roman Catholic he could hardly have been kept from the throne. But he was a Roman Catholic, and would not change his religion. Queen Anne died before all preparations had been made; and she was succeeded by George I., Elector of Hanover.

The period that has been sketched in this chapter is the most interesting and dramatic in English history. We have followed the change in the constitution almost exclusively, for that is the subject which gives us the best thread to guide us through a very confused period. But great things were happening outside of the domain of politics and war. A great change had passed over the Church of England. Under the guidance of Archbishop Laud it had come more definitely to claim its inheritance in the medieval church, to insist more clearly that it, too, was a Catholic Church. By its side the religious bodies that dissented from the Church of England had developed in organization. The seventeenth century is their heroic age. Presbyterianism was represented by the great preacher and theologian Baxter. Independency or Congregationalism had been supported by Cromwell and Milton. The Society of Friends (the Quakers) had been founded by George Fox, and had counted among its members William Penn. Bunyan had reflected glory on the Baptist body, by his life and his great allegory "The Pilgrim's

The culture
of the Age.

Religious
movements.

Progress." It is a great age in literature too. Shakespeare was writing when James I. came to the throne. Milton wrote the "Paradise Lost" in the reign of Charles II.; and posterity has atoned for the neglect in which he lived by an ever-increasing admiration for his poetry. In science, too, the



age accomplished great things—the greatest before the nineteenth century. For it produced Newton, whose "Principia" (published in 1687) laid the foundations of all modern astronomy.

One last feature of the age must be noted: no other is more important. It was during the seventeenth century that the eastern coast of North America was being filled with

English colonies. This was an all-important chapter in the history of Europe, for it proved the decisive step in that movement which has carried the influence of The American Europe—its government, its science, art and colonies. religion—over the whole world, and has to a large extent made of the world a larger Europe. The colonizing movement had gone on during most of the century. Early in King James I.'s reign (1607) the colony of Virginia, which had been designed under Queen Elizabeth, was really established. In 1632 Maryland was founded. Then in 1620 the movement began which gave to North America its most influential characteristics and most profoundly influenced its destiny. In that year the Mayflower brought a band of settlers, many of whom had resided for some time in Holland. They were religious Independents, who had fallen under the displeasure of the English Government and came to America to find a home where they could put into practice their own religious ideas. Their state was called Massachusetts: its capital Boston, from the English home of some of them. The state became the nucleus of a group of New England colonies, puritan in religion, narrow in many of their views, but strong and energetic, like their comrades in England. The society that they founded was, socially and politically, democratic and equal. The constitution and life of the United States of America bears and will always bear strong traces of their influence.

The settlement and possessions of the British Government made rapid progress under the restored Stuarts. Carolina was founded in 1663. In consequence of the Dutch war England acquired the Dutch settlement which separated the New England colonies from Virginia. The district was first known as New Amsterdam. Its title was changed to New York as a compliment to James, Duke of York, the King's brother, who later reigned as King James II. The only other colony which need be mentioned here is Pennsylvania, which was planted in 1681. Its founder was William Penn, a prominent member of the Society of Friends or Quakers, who had much influence with Charles II. True to the principles which he professed at home Penn gave to his colony some strongly marked features. He,

established there the most complete religious toleration that was then to be found in any state: he introduced a very liberal and democratic constitution: and he established peace and friendship with the Indian tribes against whom the other colonies waged continuous war. He called the capital Philadelphia—the city of brotherly love.

Thus English quarrels and intolerance contributed largely to the foundation of the American colonies. It was a strange turn of fate which in 1917 brought these American colonies—then bound together as the United States of America—to take a part in the great European war with a view to establishing peace among the nations of the world.

Two excellent volumes in the *Political History of England*, by F. C. Montague and R. Lodge, cover this period. *Macaulay's History of England* deals with the reign of James II., and part of the reign of William III. On the early period *S. R. Gardiner* is the great authority. In addition to many large volumes he has summarized his ideas in *The Puritan Revolution (Epochs of History)*. Useful biographies are *Hutton's Laud*, *Firth's Cromwell*, *Harrison's Cromwell*, *Traill's William III.*, *Airy's Charles II.* A short and brilliant summary of the whole period is given in *G. M. Trevelyan's England under the Stuarts*.

CHAPTER XI

Russia and Prussia

The Rise of New Powers in the Eigheeenth Century

Brandenburg acquires Prussia	1611
Accession of Peter the Great	1682
John Sobieski, King of Poland, relieves Vienna	1683
Charles XII. defeats the Russians in the Battle of Narwa	1700
The Prussian Monarchy	1701
Accession of Frederick the Great	1740
Peace of Hubertsburg	1763

THE Peace of Utrecht did not by any means mark the end of the greatness of France. She remained throughout the eighteenth century one of the first-rate European powers. But her ascendancy was over. Other powers struggled with

her upon terms of equality or superiority. Since 1688, England had been her successful rival for commerce and the control of the seas, on which commerce then depended. And during the course of the eighteenth century Russia and Prussia assumed that importance in the councils of Europe which they have held ever since.

Whilst they were rising and France was standing still there were other countries which were rapidly sinking. The great days of Spain as a military power were over; Sweden and her wretched Government repressed the energies of her people.

When she appeared again as an important military force during the Napoleonic wars, it was due to the energy of the people, not to the action of the Government. Among the declining powers were also Sweden and Poland. We have not found time to say much of either, but both had counted at one time among the great powers of Europe. We have seen Sweden's glorious and decisive interference in the 'Thirty Years' War; and in 1683 John Sobieski, King of Poland, had come to the relief of Vienna when her destruction by the 'Turks' seemed imminent. After the early years of the eighteenth century neither country was able to play a great part in European politics. The decline of Sweden was due to the overstraining of her resources in wars of conquest and empire. She was soon again prosperous and progressive, though no longer a first-rate military power. Very different was the destiny in store for Poland. Her population was large, her territory far larger than that of Prussia; but she was afflicted by almost every evil that can afflict a state. Her frontiers were almost indefensible; her constitution was, under the name of an elective monarchy, really in the hands of the wildest, most turbulent, and most immoral nobles that Europe knew; the mass of the people was sunk in a degrading serfdom. Her great neighbours—Austria, Russia, and Prussia—constantly interfered in her affairs, and were glad to see her weak and misgoverned. Before the end of the century, Poland disappeared from the list of independent European states.

Meanwhile new states were appearing among the great powers of Europe. Russia, as a European power, dates from

the early eighteenth century. We must not go further back in the history of Russia than the accession of Peter the Great in 1682. Modern Russia may be regarded as his creation. He found Russia barbarous and uncivilized: the power of the monarchy less than that of the *boyars* or nobles; the country and its resources almost unknown to Western Europe. It was Peter the Great who introduced the rudiments of European civilization, asserted



Peter the Great.

Born, 1672; visited Holland and England, 1697; founded St. Petersburg, 1703; died, 1725

the power of the monarchy against all the other elements

The work of of Russian society, Peter the Great founded the new capital of St.

Petersburg, and displayed Russia to the world as a military power, which had to be most seriously reckoned with. The man himself was

a strange mixture of barbarism and civilization: on the intellectual side he was pure European, on the moral side he belonged still to the barbarism of early Russia.

From the first the practical achievements of Western Europe had profoundly interested him, and a visit which he paid in 1697 to England and Holland was probably the

decisive point in his career. He saw how the strength of those two countries rested on their navies and their commerce; and he returned to Russia determined to introduce there these same forces.

He introduced European customs and European dress; he beat down the power of the nobles, as all strong European monarchs had had to do: he made the Church entirely subordinate to the monarchy. Above all, though he added little to the territories of Russia, he gained a foothold on the sea both to the north and

Russia reaches the sea.

south. Hitherto Russia had touched the sea nowhere. But, not only did Peter found the new capital of St. Petersburg, and thus give Russia her share in the commerce of the Baltic, but he also acquired Azov and an opening on to the Black Sea. There was profound aristocratic discontent with his work, but it has proved enduring.

From 1699 onwards he was engaged in a fierce struggle with Sweden, whose king, Charles XII., had military ambitions and energies not unworthy of those of his ancestor Peter the Great. In 1700 he defeated the Russians with overwhelming loss at Narva, and for a time was master of Eastern Germany. But Sweden was unequal to the support of his gigantic schemes. In 1709 he was defeated at Pultawa, and the power of Sweden collapsed. It was a great thing for Russia that this strong rival disappeared. Peter died in 1725, and a period of confusion and reaction followed. But in 1762 the Czarina Catherine II. acquired the throne, and she carried on the régime of Peter the Great, and began that course of territorial expansion which was the distinguishing feature of Russian history during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Even more important than the growth of Russia was the rise of Prussia into the position of a first-rate power. Prussia had been originally inhabited by a non-German stock, and it had been conquered in the Middle Ages by the Teutonic knights. The real origin of the Prussian state, however, is to be found, not in Prussia, but in the electorate of Brandenburg, which in 1611 acquired Prussia, and nearly a hundred years later took from it the royal title.

The annexed map deserves careful study, for geography has been a most important influence in the history of Prussia. Note how widely separated the territories of Brandenburg are in 1740. The state falls, roughly speaking, into three parts, situated (1) on the Rhine, (2) on the Elbe and Oder, (3) beyond the Vistula. She possessed no geographical advantages; and it seemed little likely that this scattered power would grow into the great example of a powerful centralized military monarchy.

The foundation of the greatness of Prussia was laid by Frederick William, "The Great Elector" (1640-1688). Not

only did he win Pomerania and Magdeburg for Prussia, but he successfully asserted the power of the central government against the aspirations of the nobles; he encouraged industry, especially by allowing the exiled French Protestants to settle in Berlin; and he formed a large standing army, which was henceforth the chief institution of Prussia. Prussia was a small and a very poor country. It was only by continuous discipline and by rigid honesty and great simplicity of life that she was able to outdistance her larger neighbours in the race for power in Central Europe.

In 1701, at the ~~beginning~~ beginning of the war of the Spanish succession, the Elector of Brandenburg took the title of King of Prussia. The royal title was part of the price paid to Prussia by the Empire for co-operation in the war. The next Prussian king, Frederick William I., for twenty-seven years built up a strong army and resolutely maintained peace. The Prussian army was raised from 38,000 to 83,000, and upon Frederick William's death, in 1740, it passed into the hands of Frederick II., usually known as Frederick the Great.

The eighteenth century is sometimes known as the age of benevolent despots, and several countries show us reforms undertaken and carried out by absolute rulers. We have seen how Russia owed her early greatness to Peter the Great; in Austria, a little later, great changes were introduced by the Emperor Joseph; but Frederick the Great is the great instance of this feature of the age. His great reputation depends usually upon his long wars and the success that he achieved against immense odds. His organization of Prussia, and the reforms which he introduced into the state, give him an even more unquestionable claim to rank as the greatest name among the rulers of the eighteenth century. He was much under the influence of the contemporary French philosophers, and Voltaire had been for some time a resident at his court. He wrote French in preference to German, and introduced into Prussia ideas which had their chief representatives in Paris.

Hardly was he on the throne before he plunged into a great war. The death of the Emperor Charles VI made the

, whole future of the Austrian dominions exceedingly doubtful, for his only heir was his daughter, Maria Theresa ; and, though most European powers had promised to allow her to succeed, the possessions of Austria were so great and so desirable to her neighbours, that it was certain that she would not be able to maintain her inheritance without a struggle. Frederick was the first to attack. The province of Silesia, lying on both sides of the river Oder, adjoined the territories of Prussia. Without any excuse he at once invaded and occupied it. A great European war (the war of the Austrian Succession) at once broke out.

Frederick was engaged in hostilities, actual or expected, from 1740 to 1763. European history had known no wars which concerned so wide an area and touched the destinies of so many races and nations. Austria, Prussia, France, England, Russia, were all concerned as leading combatants ; and the whole population of the Indian peninsula, and the whole of the continent of North America, were influenced in all their future history by the results of these wars. There were two main issues in this long struggle. First, the future of Prussia : was she to be a great power, or was she to be forced back by the ascendancy of Austria into the position of a small German state ? And with the fate of Prussia that of Austria was intimately connected. Secondly, there was the colonial, commercial, and naval rivalry between England and France. To which of them was the Empire of the Seas to fall, and with it the control of North America and of India ? So clear and keen was this rivalry that in all European combinations, England and France are found on opposite sides, though they change their allies in the middle of the struggle.

From 1740 to 1748 the struggle is known as the war of the Austrian Succession. During this war Great Britain was allied with Austria, while France took the side of Prussia. It was entirely indecisive of the two main issues, as we have described them. Frederick invaded and occupied Silesia, and clung to it in spite of all efforts to dislodge him. His ally, the French monarchy, also gained great victories. After

suffering an unimportant defeat at the hands of the British and Hanoverians in 1743, the French army completely defeated the British and allied forces at Fontenoy in 1745, and occupied the whole of the Austrian Netherlands and Holland. Meanwhile, there was fighting at sea and in India and America, but the contest there was quite indecisive. Exhaustion and disagreement among the allies brought the war to an end by the Peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748). Frederick was recognized as the possessor of Silesia, but in all other important respects the conditions were restored as before the war. There was a general feeling that no permanent peace had been reached—only a truce during which the belligerents might prepare for a further encounter.

Before the fighting was renewed eight years later, there had been a great change in the diplomatic relations of Europe. Since the days of Charles V., France had almost invariably been opposed to Austria in any European quarrel; but now France was induced to desert Frederick and enter into alliance with Austria. It was a change more important than the winning and losing of many battles. The French Government, as we shall see in the next chapter, was utterly weak and bad at this time; her statesmen and diplomatists lacked entirely the skill and insight which had distinguished them in the days of Louis XIV. Their wisest course would have been to keep out of the European war, and concentrate the efforts of France upon the maritime and colonial struggle. The new alliance exposed France to the blows of Prussia under Frederick, and England under Pitt. She lost control of the seas and all chance of dominion in Canada and India; and in Europe she suffered some of the most ruinous defeats that are to be found in all her history.

The diplomatic revolution.

Thus there came in 1756 what is known as the “Seven Years’ War.” England joined Prussia, while on the other side were ranged Austria, France, Russia, and Saxony. The war opened favourably for Austria and France. Frederick was checked. Great Britain received blow upon blow. It seemed to many that her day was over, and that even at sea she was no longer equal to a struggle.

,with France. Then there came an amazing change. Pitt (afterwards the Earl of Chatham) came to power in England, and he and Frederick, in hearty co-operation, turned the tide of battle. Frederick, indeed, had to struggle during the whole of the war for very existence, and it was only his unquenchable energy and great military skill which saved Prussia from annihilation. He found the Russian armies especially formidable, but he survived in the end, and inflicted on Austria, Russia, and France defeats of the most overwhelming kind; but even these would not have saved him if a change upon the Russian throne had not converted Russia from a bitter opponent into an ally. Great Britain meanwhile was gaining a series of wonderful victories in all parts of the world. British and Hanoverian armies, under a Prussian commander, crushed the French armies in the north of Germany; and in Canada, India, and at sea Great Britain gained victories such as find few parallels in her military annals. The Earl of Chatham fell from power with the accession of George III., and the British abandoned the Prussian alliance; but it was as a conqueror, though exhausted, that Frederick brought the war of Paris and to an end in 1763. The terms of the European settlement were laid down in the Peace of Paris and that of Hubertsburg. France abandoned her claims to Canada and India; the destinies of both countries were henceforth to be knit up with that of Great Britain. But it is Prussia that we are chiefly concerned with just now. Maria Theresa, the proud Austrian Empress, definitely ceded Silesia to the Prussian crown. But Prussia had gained much more than that important province. Her reputation was immensely enhanced. She had given to Europe an example of efficient and economical government which made men think that a new type of state had arisen. Nothing seemed impossible to Prussia, and though future events were to show that Prussia also had her weak sides and could suffer defeat and disaster, she was for the time decidedly the first military power in Europe.

Carlyle's Frederick the Great; Reddaway's Frederick the Great (Heroes of the Nations); Charles XII., by R. Nesbit Bain (Heroes of the Nations); Peter the Great, by Wasilewski.

CHAPTER XII

The coming of the French Revolution

Expulsion of Jesuits from France . . .	1764
Abolition of Parlements	1771
Voltaire	1694-1778
Rousseau	1712-1778

AFTER 1715 a great change passed over the government of France. There was no one to take the place of "the Great Monarch," Louis XIV. His successor was his great-grandson, Louis XV., who was quite a child and incapable for many years of ruling France. The Duke of Orleans was made regent, and he altered the policy of France at almost every point.

Reaction
under the
Regency of
the Duke of
Orleans.

Peace with England instead of war; favour shown to the great nobles; the elements of self-government encouraged; the financial system of France overturned;—such were some of the features of the new *régime*. As Louis XV. came to take a share in the government of France, he gave the chief post in the ministry to his old tutor, Cardinal Fleury; and we may note that a war which began in 1733, and had for its central object the question of the Polish succession, ended in 1735 in the acquisition by France of Lorraine. This district had for some time past been effectively in her possession, but it was now definitely ceded to the French crown. It was the last acquisition of the French monarchy before the storm of the Revolution fell upon it.

Louis XV. at first seemed to have ambition and some energy; but later he became self-indulgent, licentious, and torpid beyond the measure of any other king in the history of Western Europe. He would not allow any First Minister to take into his hands the government of France; and, as he was himself incapable of it, the result was that France had no effective government at all. The chief influence in the state lay with his mistresses, the chief of whom were

Louis XV.

Madame de Pompadour for the central part of his reign, and Madame Dubarri for the latter part. The chief interest of the reign is to see how the strength of the old monarchy rapidly declined; how opposition to the crown arose; how the nation became conscious of its evils, and confident of the possibility of a bright future. Thus the Revolution was prepared.

Among the influences that broke the strength of the French monarchy, military failure played an important part. It was largely as successful leaders in war that the kings of France had acquired absolute power. In the reign of Louis XV., after the first success in Lorraine, of which we have already spoken, there

The failure of France in the wars of the eighteenth century.

was a long period of warfare, ending in terrible disaster. During the war of the Austrian succession, indeed, the French armies gained victories, and succeeded in occupying Belgium and Holland, which Louis XIV. had so often tried in vain to conquer. But, upon the conclusion of peace, diplomacy succeeded in holding nothing of what arms had won. During the Seven Years' War, France, after an early gleam of success, experienced nothing but disaster by land and by sea, in Europe and abroad. The Prussian king destroyed the French army at Rossbach; the English fleets drove the French entirely from the seas; Canada and India were lost. The humiliation of France inevitably destroyed much of the reverence and unquestioning loyalty that Frenchmen had formerly felt for the monarchy.

Popular opposition began to show itself. France was almost entirely without representative institutions. The States-General had not been called since 1614; the Provincial Estates had either been destroyed or deprived of any real power. The only channel through which any constitutional opposition could be offered to the action of the Government was the Parlement of Paris. That was, as we have seen, a body of lawyers and advocates, existing almost entirely for judicial purposes. But they had the right of registering the king's edicts, and no edict was binding on the people until it was so registered. And the Parlement claimed that they had not only the right to register, but also to refuse

registration, and to criticise the royal edicts that were sent down to them. This was a very narrow channel for public opinion to express itself through, but it was the only constitutional one left, and it became of great importance during the reign of Louis XV. The members of the Parlement wrangled with the king about many subjects, but chiefly about the edict which had been passed against the religious body called the Jansenists, and about the heavy taxes which had been imposed in time of war and were not relaxed in time of peace. The struggle was a long and intricate one, and the Parlement was for a time very popular in Paris; but in the end victory rested with the king. In 1771 the Parlement was abolished, and a different arrangement was made for the highest courts of justice in France.

But before the Parlement fell it had gained one great victory over the monarchy: it had secured the abolition of the Jesuit order in France. We have seen with what The fall of success the Jesuits had fought against Protestantism the Jesuits. during the age of the Reformation. Since the Reformation struggle had practically ended in a drawn battle, the Jesuit order had somewhat changed in character. It had engaged with great success in foreign missions, and it had in Catholic countries secured great influence over the councils of kings. The Parlement of Paris had an almost traditional antipathy to the Jesuits, and lost no opportunity of curbing their powers and criticising their action. Now the failure of a commercial speculation, in which the Jesuits had engaged, brought the order before the Parlement of Paris. It was decided to examine the whole principles and character of the order. The king in vain tried to take the process out of the hands of the Parlement. The Parlement persisted; declared that the principles of the Jesuits were contrary to the laws of France; and, as the Jesuits would admit of no compromise, secured their expulsion from France in 1764. Similar movements were going on in various countries of Europe. They were expelled from Portugal, Spain, Parma, Naples, Savoy, Austria. At last, in 1773, the order was dissolved by a Papal Bull. But it was too valuable to the Church to be utterly destroyed. The order was restored in 1814.

" The action of Parlement and the suppression of the Jesuits were signs of the growing weakness of the Crown and the fermentation of public opinion. But a greater movement was meanwhile taking place in the minds of men, which undermined loyalty and prepared the way for revolution.

The intellectual movement of the eighteenth century was not confined to France. It was common to the whole European world, and marked a change in the opinions and convictions of men equal to what had taken place in the period of the Reformation.

The general features of this intellectual movement are not difficult to seize. It was hostile to established opinions in Church and State. It was sceptical, critical, and negative; that is to say, it was more definite in denouncing the basis upon which the old society had rested than in suggesting what new foundations should be laid. It rejected, or seemed to reject, the teaching and experience of the past. It was especially contemptuous of the Middle Ages, and spoke of them as the age of superstition, while the present was the age of reason. But, while it rejected the Middle Ages, it turned to the history of Greece and Rome with admiring enthusiasm; and classical phrases, examples, and ideas had a great influence on the thinkers who preceded the French Revolution. But what most distinguished the thought of the eighteenth century, and gave to it its most beneficent influence, was its assertion of humanity. Not merely does it protest against cruelty, against judicial torture, and against religious persecution; but it brings all institutions, whether religious or political, and all creeds, philosophical and religious, to the test of humanity. If they serve human ends they are good; if not they are evil, however well supported they may be by tradition.

The chief names among the French philosophers were Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. The last two were the most immediately influential, though Montesquieu and Diderot were deeper thinkers. Voltaire was the great opponent of the claims and powers of Catholicism. He criticised its doctrines and denounced its influence. Especially he made himself the determined champion

of religious toleration, and succeeded in putting an end to some of the worst excesses of religious persecution. In politics he was far from being a revolutionary thinker. He had seen the great reforms introduced into Prussia by Frederick the Great, and he would have liked to have seen reforms introduced into France by a reforming king. Rousseau was a very different nature from Voltaire; but he had in the end even more influence on public opinion and the course of events. He was passionate and emotional; he had none of the cold, clear logic of Voltaire. He appealed to men's feelings rather than their reason; and France came to be penetrated by the passion which he inspired, and embraced his ideas with hot enthusiasm. He wrote on education, on religion, and on politics; and all his ideas are connected and aim at the same goal. His main doctrines were the inalienable sovereignty of the



Head of Voltaire (by Houdon) in the Louvre, Paris.

Born, 1694; visited England, 1724; resided in Prussia, 1750-1753; died, 1778.

people; the superiority of feeling over thought; the superiority of the natural uncivilized man over man as formed by civilized and conventional societies. As men read his works they came to despise the society in which they lived, to believe in the possibility of an infinitely better one, and to determine to realize it.

Thus the Government of France, after the middle of the eighteenth century, was fallen into weakness and unpopularity; new ideas were spreading and inciting to wide-sweeping changes. But these would not have been able to produce a great revolution if the condition of the people had not made a change really desirable. It is to the condition of the people that we must now turn.

It is a mistake to imagine that the French Revolution was caused by the misery of the people, or that the condition of the people was worse than in any other country. The ancient regime in France. It is impossible to make accurate comparisons between the conditions of different countries without elaborate statistics; but it is certain that the condition of Poland and of many German states was far worse than that of France. It is certain, too, that the condition of France had improved during the half century that preceded the Revolution. But the burdens upon the people of France were very heavy; the Government was really oppressive; and above all, men's eyes were opened at last to the possibility of improvement.

The grievances of the population of the towns lay in the exclusiveness and oppression of the Government; in the action of the trades guilds in harassing and repressing industry; in the administration of the law; and the poverty that was the result of all these. It is the country districts that reveal to us most clearly the evils of the ancient *régime* in France. For in the beginning of the French Revolution the peasantry, usually so conservative an element in the State, were eager for change and ready to gain it by revolution. We shall understand this if we realize their position.

Feudalism, as a system of government, had been completely destroyed in France. The nobles had far less power than in England, and were in consequence many of them Condition of the French peasantry. at first ready to welcome the Revolution. But though feudalism was dead as a political system, many of its financial burdens remained. The peasantry had to pay, in addition to heavy taxation for state purposes, heavy feudal dues which had lost all meaning and justification. The peasant who owned his own land (and a great proportion of the French peasants before the Revolution were *proprieters*)

had to pay a large number of feudal dues. He must pay toll as he passed along roads or crossed rivers; he must pay dues when he threshed his corn or pressed his grapes; he must pay in many instances a certain proportion of the produce of his land (land which was his own) to a feudal lord with whom he never came into contact.

Then, in addition to the feudal dues, there were the State taxes; and these were not only exceedingly burdensome, but irritating and ruinous in their working, and, above all, unjust in their incidence. For the **The taxes.** weight of the taxes of France fell upon the so-called unprivileged classes, and chiefly upon the peasantry of the country districts. The privileged classes were to a very large extent exempt; and the privileged classes included the clergy, the nobility, and the court, and many of the wealthy men of the middle class who had bought patents of nobility. It was therefore the poorest who paid the taxes, while the richest were to a large extent exempt. The chief were the *gabelle*, the *corvée*, and the *taille*. The *gabelle* was a State monopoly of salt, and not only was the price of the salt fixed by the State, but the peasant was forced to buy a certain amount from the State, and even then the use of the salt was surrounded by irritating restrictions. Nothing in the old system was more irritating than this tax. The prices varied enormously from district to district. Salt smuggling was fiercely punished, and a large number of persons were annually imprisoned for the offence. The *corvée* was a system of forced labour. It was an irritating rather than a heavy burden, and had at one time been far heavier than it was on the eve of the Revolution. It was a system whereby the peasant was obliged to give a certain number of days' labour to the State without pay. But of all the taxes that fell upon the peasantry, the *taille* was the heaviest and the most detested. It was a tax on land and houses, equitable in its main character, but entirely unjust in its incidence, and irritating in the way in which it was levied. The total amount each year was determined by the central Government, and it was assessed upon the various districts and upon individuals by Government agents according to what they thought the district or individual could bear. It repressed, therefore, all

appearance of comfort or well-being ; for if the peasant seemed to be improving his condition, the tax was sure to be raised.

We have said that misery and poverty were not the sole or essential causes of the Revolution ; but the burdens on the peasantry were very heavy. In some districts the peasant paid more than half of his earnings in taxes. The possibility of shaking off the feudal dues and abolishing or alleviating the *gabelle* and the *taille* turned the long-suffering peasant at the beginning of the Revolution into an ardent revolutionist.

The distinctive feature of France before the Revolution was not the cruelty and oppressiveness of the social system, which it shared with most other countries. Rather

Summary. the characteristic is extreme instability. No one was loyal to the old order. The nobles, the middle class, even the clergy desired great modifications ; the people at large found it intolerably burdensome. And those who had imbibed the new ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau, regarded it as unjust, and believed that it barred the way to a state of society which should know neither poverty, nor oppression, nor crime. Without these enthusiastic hopes the revolution would not have come, or, if it had come, it would have been something very different from what it actually was.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, see *Taine's Ancient Régime* ; *de Tocqueville's Causes of the French Revolution* ; *Morley's Lives of Voltaire and Rousseau*.

CHAPTER XIII

The French Revolution

Turgot dismissed	1776
States-General assemble	1789
First Constitution completed	Sept. 1791
Execution of King Louis XVI. . . .	Jan. 1793
Fall of Robespierre	1794
Establishment of the Directory	1795

LOUIS XV. died in 1774, and was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI. He was married to Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, the Austrian empress. The antipathy between

France and Austria was of long standing, and throughout her life her Austrian origin was one of the causes of the unpopularity of the queen.

Louis XVI. was popular at his accession. He had taken no part in the follies and vices of the last reign, and his first acts showed that its policy would not be maintained. The Parlements were recalled, and a reforming ministry was appointed. Turgot was the great influence in this first ministry, and he is one of the noblest and most pathetic figures of the eighteenth century. He was loyal to the Crown, but convinced of the necessity of great reforms. He hoped to abolish financial privilege, to strike off all restraints from industry, and to lay the foundations of self-government. Had he been firmly supported by the king, the revolution might have been avoided; but, though Louis XVI. sympathized with his great minister, he had not strength of will to maintain him in office against aristocratic and court opposition. He was dismissed in 1776.

From the beginning of the reign, the financial question was a pressing difficulty. The expenses of the recent wars and bad financial methods had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy. The large immunity of the privileged classes from taxation was really at the root of the evil, but all efforts that were made to destroy this immunity failed until the revolution came. After Turgot's dismissal, Necker a Protestant banker from Geneva, controlled the finances. By economy and financial skill, he improved the situation of France, but then there came upon France another great war—the war which she waged in 1776 as an ally of the United States of America against England. It was a war full of glory for France. Her old rival was defeated and humiliated, and the prowess of France, both on sea and land, had contributed very largely to this result. And yet this triumph did nothing to strengthen the French Government. Rather it weakened it, for the great expense of the war made the financial situation still more hopeless, and the democratic and republican principles of the United States, taken in connection with the vast success which they had achieved, increased the faith of Frenchmen in those ideas of liberty, equality, and

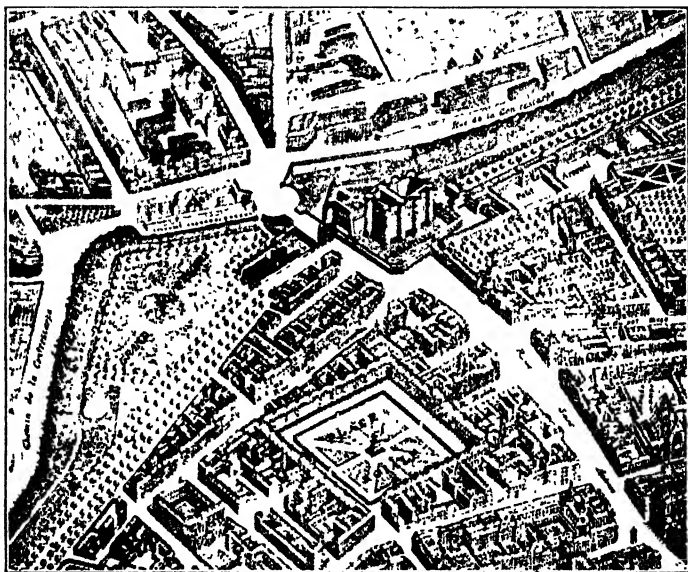
self-government, which they had derived from the writings of their philosophers.

For some years after this, the Government still tried various financial expedients, but always without success. Meanwhile, the conviction was growing strong in all classes of Frenchmen that only in self-government could any real solution of the difficulties be found. At last, the king yielded to the general demand, and called together the States-General of France for May, 1789.

No meeting of the States-General had been held since 1614, and their organization and procedure were uncertain. It was decided that the clergy and nobility should be represented by three hundred members, whilst the third estate, or Commons, had six hundred representatives. The king opened the sessions on the 5th May, 1789. The enthusiasm was intense, and the belief that a new and better era was beginning almost universal. It was soon found, however, that grave difficulties were before the States-General. The first question was as to the method of procedure. The Commons demanded that all three orders should deliberate and vote together, in which case the friends of reform would undoubtedly command a large majority. The privileged classes demanded that the three orders should sit separately, and that a majority of orders should be required for the passing of any measure. The whole future depended upon the decision of this question. The king, after long hesitation, decided for separate chambers, but the Commons, led by such men as Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès, outmanœuvred him. The vast majority of Frenchmen were with them, and by the end of June all the deputies met, deliberated and voted in a single chamber, and took the title of the National Assembly.

If, then, the National Assembly remained in power great reforms were certain. The king (or the king's advisers, for the king himself was weak of will and incapable of resolute action) determined to crush the popular party by force. But when troops began to be moved towards Paris for that purpose, the great city rose in violent revolt; the fortress of the Bastille fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the king, shrinking from further bloodshed, yielded and

professed approval of what had been done. It was a great victory for the popular cause. An even greater soon followed. There were rumours that the king was again preparing to strike, and on the 5th October a great crowd marched out from Paris, forced its way into the palace of Versailles, and after receiving armed reinforcements, compelled the king to abandon the great



The Bastille.

Section of an engraved map of 1734, showing the Bastille, the Rue Saint Antoine, leading towards the Hotel de Ville, and, outside the Saint Antoine gate, the Faubourg, where many of the revolutionary armies were recruited. The attack on the Bastille was made from the courtyards at the right.

palace of Versailles and come to live in the palace of the Tuilleries in the centre of Paris. Henceforth the king was jealously guarded and every movement watched. He was practically a prisoner in the hands of his people.

The National Assembly now declared that its aim, was to draw up a constitution for France, and is henceforth known as the Constituent Assembly. It worked eagerly at its new task;

closely limiting the powers of the king ; bringing the Church strictly under the control of the State ; introducing radical changes in the administration of justice, giving, **The Con-** in fact, to France a new political system. In **stituent** **Assembly.** June, 1791, came a sudden interruption. The king fled from Paris. He felt himself a prisoner ; he disliked the new Constitution, especially in what concerned religion ; and he hoped to place himself under the protection of his armies, and revise the Constitution. But he was arrested before he could reach his armies, and was taken back ignominiously to Paris. It was clear, henceforth, that he was no free agent. When in September, 1791, the Constitution was completed and offered to him, he accepted it, and promised to rule according to it. With the king's acceptance the first phase of the Revolution was over, and many thought that the Revolution was over altogether.

The new Assembly that was to govern France, the Legislative Assembly, soon fell into three clearly defined parties, **The new** (1) the Constitutionals, who desired to maintain **legislative** the constitution of 1791 ; (2) the Girondists, who **assembly.** were supported chiefly by the middle class and the provinces, who desired to push the Revolution further still, and were at heart republicans ; (3) the Jacobins, who represented the cities, and especially Paris, and found their support in the poorer strata of the population. At first the Jacobins worked with the Girondists ; later, a wide division appeared between them. The Jacobins were the most violent, the most resolute, and the most capable of the extreme Revolutionists.

Now there came into the Revolution an influence which profoundly modified its whole course. In April, 1792, France went to war with the Emperor ; Prussia soon joined in the fray ; and at the beginning of the next year Great Britain, Holland, and Spain joined the coalition against France. From this time, until the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, France was almost always fighting against a coalition of the chief powers in Europe, and, until 1812, she fought with success. We need not examine in detail the causes of the war. The French politicians were far from blameless ; but the war was essentially a conflict between the principles of the Revolution

and the principles of the old European order; the republican idea went to war with the ideas of monarchy and feudalism.

An immediate result of the foreign war was the overthrow of the monarchy in France. Louis XVI. was believed to be in sympathy with the enemies of France, and the early failures of the French armies were ascribed to him. On August 10, 1792, an armed crowd stormed the Tuileries palace; the king took refuge

The overthrow of the French Monarchy.

with the Legislative Assembly; the Assembly was dissolved, and a new body elected by manhood suffrage, and called the Convention, was elected to decide upon the future government of France. Meantime the king was suspended from his functions. Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, the leaders of the Jacobins, were the chief movers in these great events. The excitement in Paris was extreme. There were rumours of plots on behalf of the king, and at the beginning of September, while the elections to the Convention were in progress, a large number of persons, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of anti-revolutionary aims, were massacred with only the mockery of a trial. Thus the extreme party among the Revolutionists triumphed in Paris. Danton and Robespierre were masters of the situation.

The armies of Austria and Prussia meanwhile were advancing on Paris, and they seemed at first invincible. They advanced up to and beyond the frontiers of France; fortress after fortress fell into their hands. But then, on September 20, 1792, they

The French victory at Valmy.

were met at Valmy in the Argonnes by Dumouriez, and there the Prussian advance was checked. The battle of Valmy has been called one of the decisive battles of the world because it saved the French Republic from extinction; but in itself it was a very small affair, and it was made decisive by the diplomacy that followed and the quarrels of the allies rather than by the actual fighting.

But the battle of Valmy saved the Revolution, which could now address itself to the task of political reconstruction. The Republic had been declared in September, 1792.

The king was brought to trial for treason against the nation, and was executed in January, 1793.

Execution of the king.

Henceforth the development of the internal affairs of

France and the struggle against the European coalition are of almost equal importance, and the two stand in the most intimate connection. Within the borders of

The Reign of Terror: France there was established what is usually known as the Reign of Terror, and at and beyond the features.

frontiers the armies of France were continually struggling with the Austrian, Prussian, British, Dutch, and Spanish armies. If the Reign of Terror was not caused by the foreign war, at least it could not have existed without it. The Jacobins, who now controlled the Government, were a minority in France; they could not rule by constitutional means, for if they appealed to the votes of France they would certainly have been thrust from power. They must rule, therefore, if at all, by a display of force and violence which should overawe their opponents; they justified their actions to themselves by the plea that they were saving France from her internal and external enemies; and France was the less willing to rise against their rule because of the foreign war and the need for concentrated action to meet it.

The great instrument of the Reign of Terror was the Committee of Public Safety—a body of twelve men, in which first Danton, and afterwards Robespierre, had the chief influence. This committee exercised complete control over both the internal and external affairs

of France, and all other agencies of government sank into subordination to them. A special tribunal was appointed to try all political offenders, and the supposed enemies of the Revolution and the Jacobins were sent before this tribunal in increasing numbers, and, if found guilty, guillotined upon the great central square of Paris. The number of victims reached their highest figure after Danton had left the committee, and while Robespierre was supreme in it. In 1794, as many as eight hundred and thirty-five persons were guillotined in one month. Among the victims were the Queen Marie Antoinette, and many who had played a leading part in the early victories of the Revolution, but were now branded as Moderates. The Girondist party was entirely crushed by the Jacobin committee.

But all through the Terror the Jacobins were busy with

the reorganization of France. They produced a new constitution, though it was never actually set to work; they introduced a new and decimal system of weights and measures. A new calendar was adopted. The weeks and months were re-arranged and re-named, and a new Republican era, beginning with September, 1792 (the declaration of the Republic), was to replace the Christian era. Christianity was "abolished" in Paris, and a new religion was adopted—first the worship of Reason, and then the worship of "The Supreme Being." The latter system was introduced by Robespierre, and reflects closely the ideas of Rousseau. Amid much that was retrograde and oppressive there was much in the work of the Jacobins which became a permanent part of the life and ideas of France.

Meanwhile the war assumed even greater proportions. In addition to the vast European coalition, there was fierce civil war in France herself. It seems at first almost miraculous that France should have survived. She was saved firstly by the fierce energy of the Jacobins. Great armies were collected by the energy of Danton, and were directed by the wisdom of Carnot. The troops were for the most part inspired by an eager enthusiasm for the Revolution, and their commanders flung them upon the enemy with a disregard for the established rules of warfare and a savage energy which often defeated the methodical procedure of the enemy. But the defeat of the coalition was not merely

Jacobin
reorganiza-
tion.



Robespierre.

Born 1758; member of the States-General, 1789; entered the Committee of Public Safety, July, 1793; guillotined, July, 1794.

French
success in
the foreign
war.

due to the energy of the Committee of Public Safety and the valour of the soldiers of the Republic. The coalition was divided by internal disputes and differences of aim. England, Prussia and Austria had each their own selfish objects which prevented the adoption of a general plan of campaign. And,

The par- more important than all, the attention of Prussia
 titution of and Austria was, after 1792, directed rather to
 Poland. Poland than to France. For Poland, once a great

power, and still large and populous, was breaking in pieces. A degrading social system, and a constitution which made good government impossible, made the land a helpless prey to her neighbours. In 1772, Russia, Prussia and Austria, had seized each a portion of the unhappy country. Now, in 1793, another partition was clearly impending; and the coming division of the spoil awoke in the three great powers the darkest suspicions and the fiercest jealousies. As a result, neither Austria nor Prussia threw themselves with any energy into the French War; and this it was which, more than anything else, saved the French Republic from destruction. By the end of 1793 the French armies were everywhere victorious; soon Belgium and Holland were overrun by them, and they began to invade Germany beyond the Rhine.

As the military danger passed away, all justification of the methods of the Terror disappeared. But, in 1794, the Terror
 The fall of was more terrible than ever, and the victims of
 Robespierre. the guillotine more numerous. However, the Jacobins had begun to quarrel fiercely among themselves, and it was their quarrels which brought the Terror to an end. Danton, the greatest and the noblest of the Jacobins, was no longer in the front of his party. He had been willing to use violence for an object, but that object had been reached; France was saved; and now he pleaded for the adoption of more merciful methods. Robespierre stood at the head of the extreme Terrorist party. He succeeded in sending Danton to the guillotine, and in defeating all his rivals. But, though he became practically dictator of France, his power had no foundation, and he had no ability to maintain it. He struck his opponents down with a relentless hand; but the survivors united against him, and in the rising of

Thermidor (July, 1794), Robespierre was overthrown and guillotined.

After his fall the Terror soon ended. The Committee of Public Safety ceased to rule. The Convention resumed something of its constitutional powers. A new constitution (the Constitution of the Year III.) was drawn up in 1795. France was henceforward to be governed by a legislative body consisting of an upper and a lower house, and at the head of the Government there was to be a Directory, or administrative committee, of five persons. The new constitution displeased many parties, and there was a rising against it (October, 1795), but the rising, though at one time dangerous, was suppressed through the action of Napoleon Bonaparte; and from this date the earlier ideals of the Revolution are overshadowed, and finally destroyed, by a military dictatorship.

The end of the Reign of Terror.

The French Revolution, by Mrs. S. R. Gardiner; *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, by J. H. Rose; *Carlyle's French Revolution*; *Willert's Life of Mirabeau* (Foreign Statesmen); *Belloc's Life of Danton*; *Belloc's Life of Robespierre*.

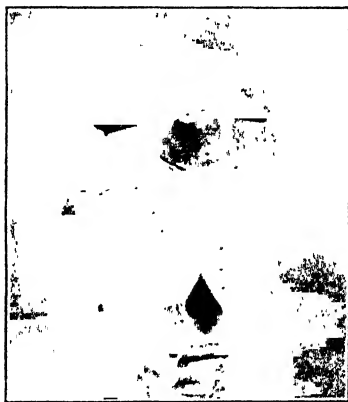
CHAPTER XIV

The Napoleonic Era

Napoleon at Toulon	1793
Napoleon in Italy	1796
Revolution of Brumaire	1799
Peace of Amiens	1802
Napoleon Emperor	1804
Battle of Austerlitz	1805
Peace of Tilsit	1807
Napoleon's Russian Campaign	1812
Battle of Waterloo	1815

THE French Revolution had begun with aspirations towards universal peace and the declaration of human brotherhood. But when it had run its course for three years, it fell, as we have seen, into a great European war, and at the end of ten

years led to the establishment of the rule of a great soldier. But long before 1799, when Napoleon Bonaparte became clearly master of France, power and influence had moved from the legislators of France to the soldiers, and military rule was seen by many to be impending. Many great revolutions in history have ended in the establishment of some form of military rule, as the Roman Revolution ended in the establishment of the empire by Julius Caesar, and the English Revolution in the military dictatorship of Cromwell. An era of violence and lawlessness makes the



Napoleon Bonaparte.

Born, 1769, died, 1821.

need of order more keenly felt, and men acquiesce in the destruction of liberty, provided anarchy is suppressed. During the later stages of the French Revolution the politicians of Paris were more and more discredited, while men began to look with enthusiasm on the great soldiers who guided the armies of France to unexampled successes.

Napoleon Bonaparte was by birth a Corsican, but in 1768 Corsica had been annexed to France, and he was thus born as a subject

of the French crown. He was destined by his parents for a military career, and went through the usual training in the military academies of France. He sympathized at first very keenly with the ideas of the Revolution, and took a prominent part in the siege of Toulon (December, 1793), when the British and allies were driven from that city, which they had occupied. But his first opportunity for distinction of an important kind came in October, 1795, when a rising of the people of Paris against the Convention and the new constitution was quelled chiefly by his energy. In recognition of his services he was soon appointed to important military command.

The new Government of the Directory was at war with a strong European coalition, but Prussia had retired, and the chief antagonists of France were Austria and England. Austria had great possessions in Italy, and the Directory determined to aim a blow against her there. Napoleon was appointed to the command of the "Army of Italy," and in 1796 entered upon his first important campaign. The Austrian power was not strongly rooted in Italy. The people were, as a rule, ready to welcome the ideas of the Revolution, and they regarded their rulers, whether Austrians or native princes, as oppressive, and thought of the French as deliverers. The management of the war, too, by the Austrians was old-fashioned, and the generals were hampered by constant interference from the home authorities. So Napoleon advanced from victory to victory. He blockaded Mantua and took it, in spite of all efforts to relieve it. Then he marched against Vienna, invaded Austrian territory, and forced the Emperor to accept the Peace of Campo Formio. One of the results of this treaty was that the Republic of Venice, the oldest of European states, was destroyed, and its territory handed over to Austria. France had already gained possession of Belgium, and advanced her frontier up to the Rhine.

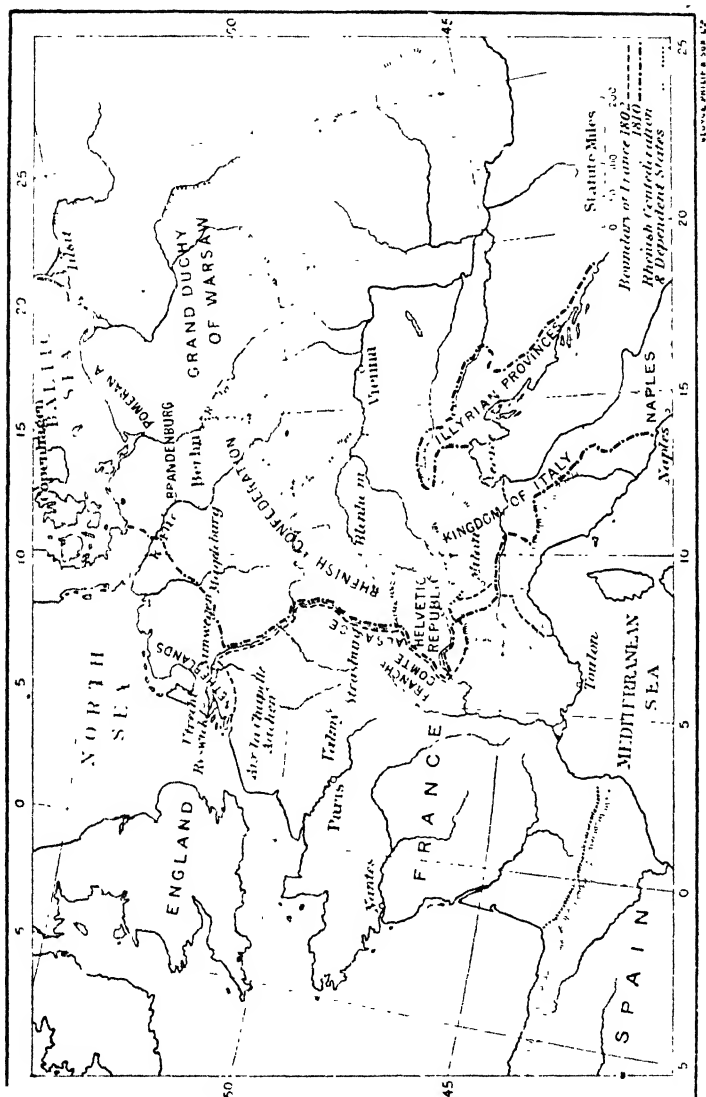
But the Peace of Campo Formio was shortlived. The rulers of France felt their superiority to the powers of Europe, and during peace gained, by diplomacy and force, greater advantages than they had gained by the war. All Italy and Switzerland passed actually, though not nominally, into the power of France.

The plan of the rulers of France was to interfere on behalf of the real or pretended grievances of the people, to alter the form of the government, and to bring the new government under the protection of the French Republic. Thus Switzerland was induced to change her constitution, and the Helvetic Republic was established instead; in the north of Italy the Cis-Alpine Republic was established in the plains of Lombardy and the north; a little further west Genoa became the centre of the Ligurian Republic; and in Naples the monarchy was overthrown and the Parthenopean Republic took its place.

Moreover, Napoleon had, on the conclusion of his Italian campaign, set out on a strange expedition against Egypt, which was a dependency of Turkey, and with which France had no quarrel. On his route thither he captured the island of Malta, and then easily overthrew the armies of Egypt; but his fleet was destroyed by Nelson, in the battle of the Nile, and his future and that of his army were very precarious.

These changes upset altogether the balance of power in Europe. France seemed to be becoming mistress of the whole continent. A second great European coalition was formed to resist this new power. Prussia remained obstinately neutral; but Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Naples, and Portugal united to attack France, and the absence of Napoleon in Egypt gave them a good hope of success. The most energetic member of the new coalition was Paul, the Czar of Russia. At first, all went well with the coalition. The French were expelled from all Italy except Genoa, and were driven out of Germany beyond the Rhine. But then the quarrels began which nearly to the end ruined these wars of coalitions against France. The chief fault was with Austria; and Russia, bitterly offended by what seemed to be her selfishness and even her treason, withdrew from the coalition.

Meanwhile a great change passed over the Government of France. The rule of the Directory was utterly discredited by the quarrels of the Directors with the Legislative Chambers, by the corruption of the Directors themselves, and by the failure of the French armies against the second coalition. Napoleon seemed shut up in Egypt by the British fleet, but he escaped with a few of his officers, leaving his army behind him. His military triumphs, and the skill with which he appealed to the people, procured for him an enthusiastic welcome. He was without an army, and yet the influence of the Directors was little in comparison with his. The soldiers everywhere were ready to support him, and in November, 1799, he overthrew the Government of the Directory and established a new constitution. This is known as the Revolution of Brumaire (from the newly adopted name of the month in which the event took place). It was a victory of the army



over civilians, and it brought a much more centralized and despotic form of government. There were to be three consuls at the head of France, but Napoleon was to be the First Consul, and, in reality, all power lay in his hands. The other consuls were little more than his agents. There were various councils to assist in the work of legislation, but they were, or soon became, entirely subordinate to the First Consul. Step by step the power of Napoleon advanced from this time, until he became Emperor of the French.

The new First Consul turned to the war with unsurpassable energy, and soon gave evidence of military genius even more striking than had been afforded in his first Italian campaigns. A double attack was made on the Austrian power. Napoleon himself advanced over the Alps into Italy, while General Moreau conducted an army down the Danube towards Vienna. Both armies were completely successful. In February, 1801, Austria had again to accept peace (the Peace of Lunéville), whereby the republics established by the French were recognized, and the terms of the Peace of Campo Formio were nearly repeated. In the next year (1802) Great Britain accepted the Peace of Amiens, and Europe was for a moment at peace.

The interval of peace lasted only for a short time; but this will be a suitable place to notice the vast social changes which were passing over France, as a result of the rule of Napoleon. First the religious question was settled in a way which lasted for a little over a century. The French Revolution had declared religious toleration as one of its central principles; but since the time of the Reign of Terror, the Roman Catholic Church had been, as a matter of fact, cruelly oppressed. And yet a majority of the people of France were still Catholic. Napoleon had from the first recognized the importance of securing the influence of the Church upon his own side, and in 1802 he made with the pope the famous Concordat.

By this agreement all religions in France were to be tolerated, but Catholicism became again the official and established religion in France, and was to be supported out of the revenues of the State. But the Government (that is, Napoleon) was to

make all appointments in the Church, and could thus make of it a direct support to his authority. To the pope belonged merely the empty ceremony of "canonical investiture."

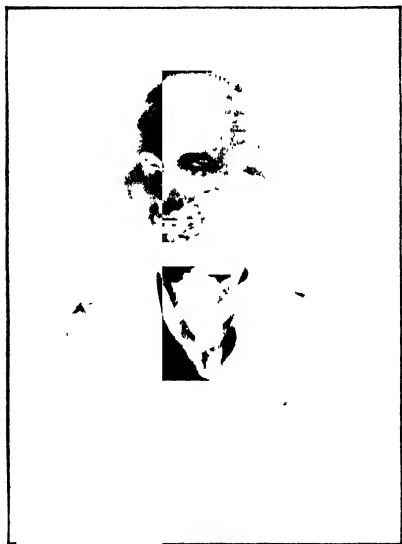
Two years later the pope rendered a great service to Napoleon. He came to Paris and crowned him Emperor in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. It was a strange Napoleon position for the son of the Corsican attorney to Emperor. occupy. But Napoleon was in power more than the equal of any crowned head in Europe, and he believed that, apart from all motives of personal ambition, it would expedite his policy if he were to throw aside the thin pretence of a republic and claim a title, the proudest that European history knew. Henceforth, then, he was "The Emperor," and before long he allied himself by marriage with the most dignified of the reigning families of Europe, the Austrian.

He was busy, too, about this period with the whole social structure of France. Great lawyers under his presidency drew up the Code Napoléon (1804), which was hence- The Code forth the basis of the legal system of France. A Napoleon. new system of education was elaborated, and titles of honour and hereditary dignities, which had been swept away by the Revolution, were re-established. Napoleon founded the Legion of Honour in 1802, and through all the changes that have agitated France during the past century, membership of the legion has remained a coveted distinction.

But soon the peace which had been established by the treaties of Campo Formio and Amiens was broken. The rupture with England came first. Each party was War with suspicious of the other; for England had not Great ceded Malta, though she had promised to do so by Britain. the treaty of Amiens; and Napoleon's power was advancing by leaps and bounds. The various protected republics were brought more and more clearly under the power of France. Quite apart from the question of Malta, the jealousy of Europe would probably not long have allowed the peace to exist.

First, war came between Great Britain and France (1803). But next year Austria and Russia joined in the movement against Napoleon. France had been at war with Europe for twelve years, but the fighting in the past was on a small

scale in comparison with the gigantic struggle which now awaited Europe. What was the general character, what the general results of the struggle? Briefly, Napoleon succeeded when he had only the old governments of Europe to fight against, and failed when behind the governments there arose a resistance of the peoples themselves. And as Europe blazes in the great conflagration, in the midst of which the daemonic figure of Napoleon is always seen, first as



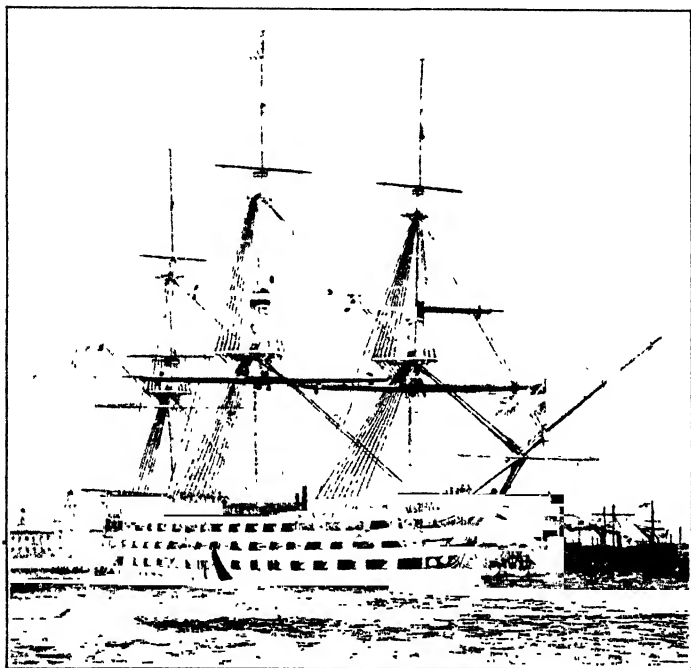
Lord Nelson.

its author and then as its victim, the social condition of Europe changes profoundly. The principles of the Revolution—the principles of liberty and equality—were perforce adopted by other countries, in order to fight against Napoleon, the heir of the Revolution. Italy traces the beginning of her new national life to the

The result of struggles of the war to these times ; Germany. but no country was more profoundly influenced than Germany. The antiquated and unwieldy fabric of the Empire

was destroyed, and, by the side of Prussia in the north and Austria in the south-east, Napoleon created a new government, "the Confederation of the Rhine," which was formed out of the smaller states of the west and south-west. This creation was not permanent, but Napoleon's policy paved the way for the subsequent re-foundation of the Empire under the presidency of Prussia. But it was not only the political system of Germany which was abolished ; its social condition was also profoundly modified. The principles of French legislation

were introduced into Western Germany, and in Prussia serfdom was at last abolished and the whole nation called upon to resist Napoleon by the wise statesmanship of Stein. Everywhere Europe, in fighting against the Revolution, adopted some of its principles, and that was especially true of Germany.



H.M.S. Victory.

Nelson's Flagship at the Battle of Trafalgar.

We can only mark the chief stages in this combat of giants. "The Third Coalition," against which Napoleon was now fighting, seemed overwhelmingly strong, including as it did the navy of Great Britain and the armies of Russia and Austria. Upon the sea the power of France was annihilated in the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and after that Napoleon never dangerously challenged.

The war
against the
third
coalition.

the naval supremacy of Britain. But the impression of Trafalgar was swiftly effaced by the victories which Napoleon himself gained in Germany. A large Austrian army capitulated at Ulm, Napoleon entered Vienna, and then at Austerlitz (December, 1805) defeated with overwhelming loss the Austrian and Russian armies in presence of the Emperors of Austria and Russia. Austria was forced to accept the Peace of Pressburg, which recognized many changes which Napoleon had introduced **Prussia goes into Germany.** But now Prussia, which for twelve years had remained neutral, in spite of solicitation **to war with Napoleon.** from all sides, was driven, by fear of the growing power of Napoleon in Germany, into war against him. For Prussia had never ceased to aspire to the leadership of Germany, and now that leadership seemed likely to fall to France. Napoleon regarded himself as the "new Charlemagne," and was setting up the kingdoms of Würtemberg and Baden and forming the Confederation of the Rhine, without regard to the wishes or interest of Prussia. Had Prussia joined the coalition before Austerlitz the result might have been decisive; but vigour and insight were not to be found in her councils, and now, too late to be effective, she joined with Russia against the triumphant armies of Napoleon. In October, 1806, at Jena, Napoleon crushed the Prussian armies, and soon entered Berlin and made himself master of Prussia. The Russians and the remnants of the Prussian army still struggled on, but were defeated at Friedland (1807). The Peace of Tilsit concluded this wonderful struggle.

Prussia, which forty years before seemed invincible, was brought incredibly low. She ceded all her territories west of the Elbe, she ceded her Polish acquisitions, she saw the kingdoms of Westphalia and of Saxony erected to be her rivals and her watchers. The King and Queen of Prussia had to submit to insults and patronage at the hands of the new Emperor of France. **The Peace of Tilsit** seems to mark essentially the high-water mark of Napoleon's power; though there came afterwards a nominal increase of territory. There had been hardly a check in his career. His achievements both as soldier and statesman seemed something more than human.

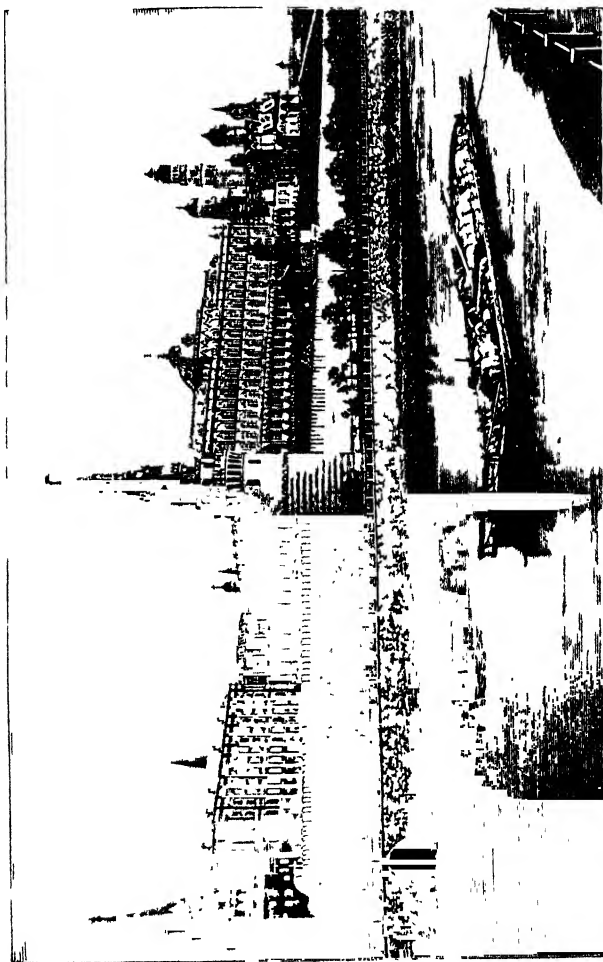
He remained the leading figure in Europe for eight more years ; but the era of his easy triumphs is over. There comes first victory after desperate fighting, then desperate fighting and no real victory, then the appalling catastrophes of Moscow, Leipsic, and Waterloo.

After Tilsit the attention of Napoleon was especially directed to Great Britain, and he thought to ruin her financially by excluding her commerce from all European countries. Napoleon In pursuit of this will-of-the-wisp, French armies and England. marched from Lisbon to Moscow, and from Vienna to Waterloo.

The first successful movement against Napoleon's power came from a most unexpected source. There was no government in Europe more contemptible than that of The Spanish Spain. It had tamely followed the lead of France War. ever since it had retired from the first coalition. Now Napoleon, by a strange intrigue, déposed its royal family and seated his own brother upon the Spanish throne (1808). Then the Spanish people arose spontaneously against the insolent invader. Europe heard with amazement of their daring, and with still greater amazement of their success ; for in 1808 General Dupont capitulated to the Spanish with his whole army at Baylen. It was the first great victory gained against the French armies since the ascendancy of Napoleon, and the Spanish resistance was never overcome. Soon an English army, which was later under the command of the Duke of Wellington, came to the help of Spain. Had Napoleon devoted his whole attention to Spain, he might have crushed the Spaniards ; but he was too busy elsewhere, and his power bled to death from the Spanish trouble.

It was against Austria that his own efforts were directed, for, partly encouraged by the news from Spain, Austria had again declared war against France, and the new The fourth feature of this war was that the Emperor of Austria coalition. appealed to his people, and that the Tirolese fought as the Spaniards were fighting. But Napoleon's star was not sinking yet. Again Vienna was entered ; again the Austrians were defeated, though with huge exertions ; and again the Emperor of Austria accepted peace (the Treaty of Vienna) at the dictation of Napoleon. His Empire reached now its very widest extent.

The accompanying map (p 391) must be studied to realize how wide it was.



The Kremlin Moscow.

But Napoleon's power rested on the insecure foundation of force, and he sought rather to overawe than to conciliate his antagonists. And still the Spanish war went on.

Now came the great catastrophe of his career. History knows of no more colossal tragedy. Since the Peace of Tilsit Napoleon had tried to secure the alliance of Russia, The Russian and for a time had succeeded. But now, in 1812, campaign. jealousy and rivalry led to war between the Emperor of France and the Czar of Russia. Napoleon determined to dictate his terms in Moscow as he had dictated them in Vienna. He crossed the frontier with close on 600,000 men; he fought and won a great battle; he occupied Moscow. But the Czar showed no sign of negotiating; the winter threatened. Napoleon determined to retreat. He had lost terribly on the outward march. He suffered still more terribly as he struggled back to Germany. Of his 600,000 men he had a mere handful when he re-entered Germany. By death and capture he had lost quite 400,000 men.

A general European rising followed. Austria, Prussia, and Russia flung themselves upon the now clearly tottering fabric of French power, and Great Britain assisted with The wars of an army in Spain, and subsidies in Central Germany. liberation.

In October, 1813, Napoleon was crushed in the great battle of Leipsic (the Battle of the Nations). He escaped to France with a remnant of his troops. The allies followed after him, and after much desperate fighting he was forced to abdicate, and was allowed to retire to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., whom the Revolution had guillotined, was made King of France. A congress of all the European powers was called at Vienna to settle the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was by the storms of a quarter of a century.

But Elba was not the end. France regretted the glories of the Napoleonic régime, and was offended by many acts of the new Government. The great powers were quarrelling furiously in Vienna. So Napoleon Waterloo. left Elba, was received by France with a transport of enthusiasm, and again faced a coalition of all Europe, not without some possibility of success. But at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, he was defeated by the forces of Great Britain and Prussia. He abdicated a second time, was exiled to Saint Helena, and died there in 1821.

J. H. Rose's Life of Napoleon; Fyffe's Modern Europe; Seeley's Life of Stern.

CHAPTER XV

Great Britain in the Eighteenth Century, 1714-1815

Walpole, Prime Minister	1721-1742
Jacobite Rising	1745
Pitt (Chatham) in Power	1756
War with American Colonies	1775
Pitt (the younger), Prime Minister	1783
War with France	1793
Trafalgar	1805
Congress of Vienna	1815

DURING the hundred years dealt with in this chapter, there is much less constitutional change than during the preceding century. The revolutionary settlement of 1688 resisted all attacks; and the Government of England was in 1815 theoretically what it had been in 1714. But a nation is a living thing, and it continually grows and changes. There were, in fact, considerable constitutional developments during this period, and we will begin by marking them.

The accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne led to the development of the Cabinet system. George I. and George II. were thoroughly German, and spoke the English language with difficulty. They could not therefore attempt to exercise much direct control over the Government of England. They no longer attended Cabinet councils, whose deliberations they could not have understood. The place of the king, as the directing force, was taken by the Prime Minister. The custom developed that all the ministers should belong to the same political party, and that they should all make themselves responsible for the policy of each minister. These are the characteristics of the English Cabinet system—the ministers all belong to one party, and are supported by that party; they

are jointly responsible for the policy adopted ; they act under the general direction of the Prime Minister. This system, which has on the whole worked so well, and which established a strong Government on a Parliamentary basis—a thing which had been thought impossible—was a matter of **Walpole.** slow growth. Walpole, the minister of George I. and George II., is more responsible for it than any one else, but it was developing during all the century, and has not ceased to develop yet.

When George III. came to the throne in 1760 he made a real attempt to alter this system. He felt himself to be an Englishman. His two predecessors had been more **The aims of** interested in Hanover than in England, but he **George III.** “gloried in the name of Briton.” He had been brought up too to regard the power of Parliament as a usurpation, and to think of the Tudor kings as the model that he ought to set before him. He got rid, therefore, of the powerful Earl of Chatham; he got rid of the Whigs. He called the Tories to power, and found a Prime Minister to his mind in Lord North. He aimed at controlling Parliament by means of his ministers, instead of allowing Parliament to control his ministers and himself ; and he achieved a measure of success. But then he blundered into war with the American colonies. He saw in them the same spirit of independence and self-government that he found at home. We shall speak of the war again ; but we need only notice that the failure of the English armies in America saved Parliamentary **His failure.** liberties at home. A king discredited by an unsuccessful war can rarely hold his own against Parliamentary opposition. Parliament claimed now the control of affairs again ; but in Pitt, the son of the great Pitt, Earl of Chatham, George III. found a Prime Minister who, by his loyalty, made the situation as agreeable as possible to the king. During and after the American war the question of Parlia- **Parliamentary** mentary reform emerged. The constituencies **Reform.** were still what they had been in the seventeenth century. But since then a new England had come into being in consequence of the industrial revolution. The population had begun to increase rapidly in the north of England, especially

in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, became great cities. But they sent no members to Parliament, and generally the north was much under-represented, while Cornwall and some of the southern counties had far too many representatives in proportion to their size. Now efforts were made to change this; it was proposed to alter the constituencies, and to give the country fair representation. Chatham and Pitt had both declared themselves in favour of it. But then there came the French Revolution. Men feared reform lest it should lead to revolution. The spectre of the reign of terror was always before their eyes. And so Parliament remained unreformed until 1832.

We must now turn to military and foreign affairs. Great Britain has never, until the great war of 1914, engaged in wars so important as those she fought during this period. Briefly, she won India and Canada, and she lost the American colonies; and she contributed immensely to the overthrow of the power of Napoleon.

All these wars have one feature in common. Whatever the cause of the war France is always the enemy, or one of the British enemies, and the struggle has always, as one chief hostility to object, the control of the seas and the possession of America and India. We have already gone through these wars in earlier chapters. We need only notice now the part played by Great Britain.

The reign of George I. and the first part of the reign of George II. were on the whole peaceful. The Old Pretender—the son of James II.—landed in Scotland in 1715, and tried to raise a rebellion against the War of Austrian succession. Hanoverian Succession. But he failed entirely, and the new dynasty was only strengthened by his attempt. But in 1740 Great Britain took a prominent part in the War of Austrian Succession, supporting Austria against the attacks of Prussia and France. The British effort on the Continent had no great success. British soldiers contributed to the victory of Dettingen (1748); but were heavily defeated at Fontenoy in 1745. But the Continental war was not for British statesmen the point of most importance. They were

engaged in a struggle with the French on the seas and in Canada and in India. On the whole the naval supremacy of Britain was maintained; but in Canada and in India no decision was reached. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 was little more than a truce. There were eight years of uneasy peace, and then the Seven Years' War began. The Seven Great Britain was still opposed to France; but Years' War. now France was in alliance with Austria, whom she had opposed in the previous war, and Great Britain entered into alliance with Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. When we remember that in 1914 the British Empire engaged in a war of unparalleled fierceness with Germany under the leadership of Prussia, it is curious to note that Great Britain contributed greatly to the advance of Prussia to the position which she now holds in Germany, and that Prussia contributed not a little to the foundation of the British Empire.

While the war raged on the Continent, though Britain gave Frederick valuable support in his great struggle, the chief attention of British statesmen was turned elsewhere. The chief English minister was Pitt (later Earl of Chatham), and he threw into the war an energy very much greater than that with which the War of Austrian Succession had Pitt, Earl of been conducted on the British side. Things did Chatham. not go too well with the British arms at first. The navy was checked by the French at Minorca; the English at Calcutta were captured; the French gained considerable victories in America; on the Continent a British army capitulated to the French. But when Pitt came to power all this soon changed. He had a great genius for organization, and for the appointment of the right men to command. Above all he had a wonderful gift of inspiring courage and confidence; no one it was said came away from an interview with him without being a braver man. All turned on the The control control of the sea, and the power of the British of the sea. navy was never seriously challenged. Thus British reinforcements could be sent to Canada and India, while the French garrisons there were isolated, and could get no help from Europe. They fought well in both theatres and had fine leaders. In 1759 General Wolfe captured Quebec, and that.

meant the end of the French power in Canada. The battle of Wandewash in 1760 marked the end of the French military power in India. The French have shown great gifts as colonists, and a wonderful power of reconciling native races to their



The Right Hon. William Pitt, Paymaster of the Forces,
afterwards Earl of Chatham.

(From a Painting by Hoare.)

rule. Their loss of influence in two great portions of the earth's surface is from some points of view therefore

regrettable. But it is clear that the present British Empire dates from this epoch of wonderful victories.

The Seven Years' War was ended by the Peace of Paris in 1763. Then Great Britain had eleven years of peace, full of sharp political contests, which are illuminated for us by the great speeches of Burke. And during the time the revolt of the American colonies was being prepared, which seemed to shatter entirely the work of Chatham. The American colonies were not cruelly oppressed or intentionally ill-treated. They were the freest, most prosperous, most nearly self-governing colonies in the world. They were indeed the only colonies in the world from which the mother country did not try to make an income. If only the Home government would have left them alone it seems certain that they would have remained enthusiastically loyal to the mother country. We have now the example of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to show us that free colonies, which have grown into independent states, may yet retain an enthusiastic loyalty for the mother country. But only a few wise men, such as Chatham and Burke, held these views in the eighteenth century. Colonies were for the most part regarded as property out of which the mother country ought to draw some profit. The Seven Years' War had been fought largely to free the colonies from the threat of the French power in Canada, and it seemed reasonable that they should contribute something towards the heavy expense that had been incurred. Taxes were therefore imposed upon them. They might not have been unwilling to pay something if it had been left to their free will; but they refused to be taxed by Great Britain. There was a moment when it seemed that wisdom would prevail in the councils of Britain, for the Whig ministry of Lord Rockingham withdrew the obnoxious taxes. The king, however, was obstinate, and thought that the colonies ought to be taxed, and he was supported by a large section of opinion. Had Chatham been well and strong perhaps the catastrophe would have been averted (for small things in history have sometimes great results); but he fell ill, and the king found ministers who were willing to carry out his own ideas.

Taxes were placed on goods imported into America, rather to assert the right of Great Britain to tax, than for any income likely to be obtained. There followed friction, protest and revolt. War came definitely in 1774.

On our side of the
The war with the American colonies.
water the victory of Great Britain was assumed to

be certain; but as there had been no wisdom in the policy that led to the war, so there was none in the conduct of the war. Great Britain

lost for a time the control of the seas. France eager to have her revenge

made an alliance with the Americans. The colonists found an ideal leader in Washington—a great soldier and one of the world's greatest statesmen. A large and increasing number of people in England sympathized with the Americans. Great Britain was forced to accept defeat, and the most disastrous war in her history since the close of the middle ages was ended by the Peace of Versailles and the recognition of the independence of what was now the United States.

Ten years of fruitful peace followed. The younger Pitt rose to power during the interval, and introduced reforms in finance and in the government of India. He had imbibed ideas of what we should now call free trade from the teaching of Adam Smith, and his chief interest lay in economic and social questions. But then the French Revolution broke out and led to a longer and more exhausting war than any that had been waged by Great Britain up to that time. We have spoken of the Revolution and of the war with Napoleon in another chapter. It will be enough here to note the chief phases in the relation of Great Britain to it.



George Washington
(After Gilbert Stuart, Boston Museum.)

There was at first great sympathy with the Revolution. The political ideas of its early leaders were much like those which had been embodied in the English Constitution by the Revolution of 1688. The constant fighting against France moreover had not prevented the growth of keen intellectual sympathy between Englishmen and Frenchmen during the eighteenth century. The great French writers—Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu—all owed much to English examples and English ideas, and English writers such as Hume were not slow to acknowledge their debt to France. England, as well as France, was ready to believe in the coming of an age which should banish poverty and crime, and unite all peoples in a fraternal bond. So the news of the calling of the States-General, of the Fall of the Bastille, and the victory of the popular party was rapturously received in England. It seemed quite possible that an alliance might take the place of the long hostility between the two nations. No circumstance can be imagined which would have been more likely to contribute to the progress and happiness of mankind. But then there came other and stronger forces which worked in an opposite direction and brought the two nations to war.

Great Britain
and the
French
Revolution.

What were these forces? There was the antagonism produced by the long series of wars between the two countries. There was the jealousy and suspicion felt by royal and aristocratic England for republican France; then feelings rose to a passion of hate after the condemnation and execution of King Louis XVI. France, as we have seen, went to war with Austria and Prussia in 1792. Under pressure of war-excitement she did and said unwise things. She overran Belgium. She declared that the Scheldt, which had been jealously closed against all large ships, in order to prevent Antwerp from becoming a rival of London, should henceforth be freely opened. We know from the great war of 1914 how sensitive England has always been to events in Belgium. The action of France produced violent opposition in London, and war was declared.

The war lasted with little real intermission for twenty-two

years. The navy of Great Britain was from the first an important influence, but it was not until towards the end of Pitt and the the war that the armies of Great Britain gained French war. any important success. Pitt's war policy has been severely criticized; and, though it has found its defenders, he certainly showed none of the genius of his father, the Earl of Chatham, in his organization of the war, and in his direction of the campaign. He advanced large sums of money to the allies; he built up alliance after alliance by patient and skilful diplomacy. Above all, he faced his great antagonist, in spite of the long series of unparalleled victories that were gained by Trafalgar. Napoleon, with unfailing courage and tenacity.

Before he died, in 1806, Nelson had gained the crowning victory of Trafalgar (1805), and we now see that this battle was one of the most decisive of the war; but at the time its effect was destroyed by Napoleon's triumphs at Ulm and at Austerlitz.

After Pitt's death the war was conducted by weaker statesmen, though Canning and Castlereagh were men of great ability. The British armies, however, at last found a great general in the Duke of Wellington. The British blows were now aimed more wisely, and driven home with greater

Wellington. force; and, as we have seen in another chapter, the power of Napoleon was being undermined by various causes, especially by the growth of genuine national opposition in Spain, Germany, and Russia. Great Britain co-operated eagerly with all these movements; but her chief effort was made in Spain. Wellington led an army to Portugal in 1808, and for five years he continued to harass the French Government and army there. The war was not at all an uninterrupted British triumph; but it forced Napoleon to keep large armies in Spain which were badly wanted in Austria, Russia, and Germany. No British troops took part in the battle of Leipsic; but Wellington's army contributed very directly to that great overthrow of Napoleon.

Hitherto Great Britain had played a secondary part in the The Hundred actual fighting. But in the last act of Napoleon's Days. career—the Hundred Days' Campaign—she played one of the leading parts. It was upon Wellington's troops

that the brunt of the fighting fell, though he was most ably and energetically supported by the Prussians under Blücher. After Waterloo the prestige of Great Britain stood at almost a dangerous height. Our Parliamentary constitution had shown extraordinary stability and endurance: and at last had presided over a complete triumph.

There is little that need be said of Scotch history as apart from English. The Act of Union had at first been exceedingly unpopular in Scotland; but it had brought great Scotland in prosperity, and little by little the country had the eighteenth become reconciled to it. Just at the end of this century.

period Scott began to write his Waverley novels, which are not only one of the great achievements of literature; they have also exercised an influence of great political and social importance by popularizing Scotland in the southern part of the island, and drawing the two peoples indissolubly together. The story of Ireland in the eighteenth century presents a great contrast. (Irish history nearly Ireland.

always does run counter to English. The periods of England's triumph have often meant humiliation for the Irish. The heroes of our drama are often the villains of theirs.) The failure of James II.'s plans had led to the complete subjection of Ireland. Her history was singularly uneventful during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century; but the proverb, "Happy is the people that has no history," is far from being true in this case. The peace was due to exhaustion and to despair. The land had passed for the most part into the hands of English and Protestant landlords. A The series of laws treated the Irish Catholics as badly grievances as the French Protestants had been treated by of Ireland.

Louis XIV. The native language nearly disappeared from the land. There was a Parliament in Dublin, but it was English and Protestant; it was kept in strict subordination to the British Parliament at Westminster. But a change came with the outbreak of the American War. Protestant Ulster took the lead in demanding equality of trading facilities Grattan's with England; but Dublin and Catholic Ireland Parliament. were not slow to follow. Volunteer armies were raised. Grattan, an eloquent Irishman, of English stock and Protestant

*faith, took the lead in this movement. Great Britain could not resist, and in 1782 Ireland was accorded a really independent Parliament, which is known to history as Grattan's Parliament. The situation came near to what would now be called Home Rule.

But the position was unstable. The Irish Parliament could legislate, but it had no hand in the government. **Ninety-eight.** The condition of the people was exceedingly bad. Then came the French Revolution, and its ideas and its vague hopes had a great effect on the Irish. They saw their opportunity in England's peril. They hoped for help from France; and in 1798 a dangerous rebellion broke out in the south-east. It was easily repressed, but the repression was accompanied with much cruelty. Pitt, who was wholly intent on his struggle with Napoleon, and saw everything in relation to that, believed that the only road to safety **The Act of Union.** was to join together the British and Irish Parliaments, as the Scotch and English had been joined in 1707. The proposal was passed through the Irish Parliament with the help of much corruption, and was then accepted by the British Parliament (1800). Pitt had hoped to reconcile Ireland to the measure by granting at the same time equality of political rights to Catholics. But the king refused to accept the proposal, and Pitt gave way. The Irish Union started on its way with evil omens.

The eighteenth century saw great changes pass over the life of England. We have already mentioned the Industrial **Social change during the eighteenth century.** Revolution. Steam-driven machinery was introduced, and was applied to the manufacture of cotton and wool; industrial towns began to develop, and the population of England to move from the south to the north. Roads and canals were built and tended to the increase of commerce. The methods of agriculture were revolutionized. The common lands of England were very largely enclosed, and by the enclosure they were made to produce more; but the poor, to whom the commons belonged, were robbed in the process. A new England came into being. Hitherto the country had been chiefly agricultural and commercial. But now industry and

manufacture rose to compete with farming and trade. Wealth poured in, and it was this wealth which made it possible for the country to endure the long struggle with Napoleon. No one noticed at the time the destruction of the beauty of the country or the wretched lives of the men, women, and children that were employed in the new industries. The next century had to concern itself with these things.

A great change too passed over the spirit of England. Different currents of thought were at work. There was the influence of ideas in harmony with those of France, and these had a great hold on a section of the educated classes. But side by side with the movement, and antagonistic to it, was a religious movement of which Wesleyanism was the chief development. It began as a movement inside the Church of England; but it soon drifted, in spite of Wesley's wishes, into independence of, and afterwards into antagonism to, that Church. Its success was amazing. He who would know England of the eighteenth century must read Wesley's Journal, and see how his preaching affected the trading and the labouring classes. It brought about also a revival of religious enthusiasm inside the Church of England, which was nearly as important as the religious organization called into being outside of it. Yet a third and perhaps equally important spiritual movement must be mentioned. In the last quarter of the century there came a glorious outburst of English literature, of which Wordsworth and Scott are the chief names. The voices of these great men only slowly found access to the minds of people; but he who would understand England must take account not only of Hume and Wesley but of Wordsworth and Scott as well.

The volumes in the *Political History of England* dealing with the period are by T. S. Leadam (1702-1760); W. Hunt (1760-1801); and C. G. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham (1801-1837). Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* consists of essays on English History down to 1793, and of a continuous sketch of Irish History down to the Union. Macaulay's *Essays* are valuable throughout. Morley's *Burke*, Harrison's *Chatham*, Rosebery's *Pitt*, Temperley's *Canning* are useful biographies. *Burke's Speeches*, especially on American affairs, are of the utmost value.

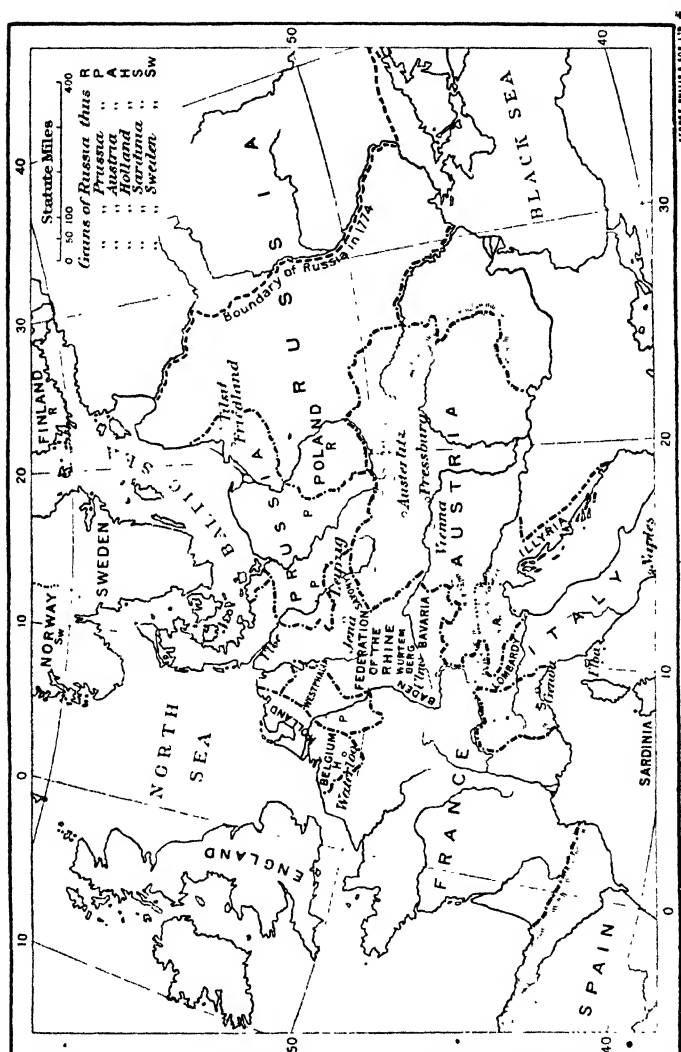
CHAPTER XVI

Reaction and Revolution

Congress of Vienna	1815
Louis Philippe, King of France	1830
The Year of Revolutions	1848
Napoleon III., Emperor	1852

WHEN the battle of Waterloo had been fought, the representatives of the states of Europe again met at Vienna to determine the boundaries of the different European states of Vienna. and other political questions. No general principle controlled their decisions. They refused to recognize the right of peoples to a voice in the settlement of their fate, and their refusal prepared serious troubles for the next generation. France was restored to her frontiers of 1792, and Louis XVIII. reigned again. Prussia abandoned some portions of Poland and gained instead valuable territories on the Rhine; while Austria abandoned Belgium but was compensated by acquisitions in Italy and in the east of Germany. Thus Prussia became a thoroughly German power while Austria added more foreign elements to those which she already possessed. Herein lay one great cause which made Prussia fifty years later the head of Germany and thrust Austria from that position. Belgium was joined to Holland, and ruled as the Kingdom of Holland by the head of the house of Orange. Norway was annexed to the Kingdom of Sweden. The claims of Poland and of Greece were not listened to. Italy remained divided. Spain was restored to its old royal house, and was ruled in the old bad way.

With the cessation of the great war, the most modern period of European history begins; and it is far more difficult to write of it than of the earlier ages, for we are often too near to it to be able to distinguish the really important events. Before we proceed to glance at the movements of politics and war, it will be well to note that forces were coming into European life which earlier ages had hardly known. The steam-engine had been invented, and soon



The Settlement of 1814-1815.

the locomotive came, and through their influence there rose first for England, and then for all Europe, a system of industry and labour which was new and raised new problems. More and more of the energy of statesmen has been devoted to the settlement of those problems, and they are far from settled yet. Europe, too, during the nineteenth century, came into even closer relations with the countries outside Europe. The eighteenth century was the period of the "expansion of Europe." European powers, and especially Great Britain, had then gained possessions in all parts of the world; and the rise of the United States had already shown the vast importance of "Europe beyond the Seas." But during the nineteenth century the reaction of the rest of the world upon Europe has been still greater and more continuous. The race for foreign possession has been a frequent cause of rivalry among European states, and it is now evident that Europe is not destined to exercise a perpetual dominion over all other parts of the globe. In war, politics, religion, and thought, the influence of Japan, China, India, Africa has been great, and will certainly be much greater. European history is a part, not the whole, of the history of civilization. Another vast topic, which we must leave untouched, is the development of religion and philosophy during the nineteenth century. Its influences have been as important as during earlier periods; but it seems too early to summarize it and examine its working.

After 1815, the dominant feeling in Europe was distrust of the principles of the French Revolution, and a desire to prevent their issuing in fresh troubles. Austria was the chief influence, and in Austria Prince Metternich was the great power. This subtle diplomatist had contributed much to the overthrow of Napoleon; and now he threw his influence everywhere against the grant of constitutional liberties. In 1815, hopes had been held out that all the German states would receive free constitutions; but these hopes were for the most part disappointed. Prussia remained an absolute monarchy, and throughout Germany the Governments were, as a rule, oppressive, and crushed the freedom of the Press. The same tendency was observable in France also. Constitutional government

could not be quite destroyed, but it was limited in every possible way. Through Metternich's influence there grew up what was known as the Holy Alliance, of which Russia, Prussia, and Austria were the chief members, for resisting revolutionary movements anywhere in Europe; and promising constitutional movements in Spain and Naples were actually suppressed by this means.

Yet the sense of national life, and the desire for liberty, formed a force too great for Metternich and the Holy Alliance to suppress in the long run. In the chief states of Europe the repressive powers were too strong, and the memories of the Napoleonic period too vivid to allow of a rising. But liberty found champions in the colonies of Spain in South America, and in Greece. Greece formed a part of the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey, and for four centuries the people had bowed under the oppressive yoke of aliens in race and religion; but all the time they cherished their language, a sense of their nationality, and a desire for freedom. An insurrection broke out in 1821. Metternich and the European powers who agreed with his policy prepared to crush down this attack upon the established European order. It was largely through the interference of England, under the direction of Canning, that the cause of liberty triumphed both in the Spanish colonies and in Greece.

In 1830 the established order was rudely shaken in Western



Prince Metternich.

Born, 1773; at the Congress of Vienna, 1814; overthrown by the Revolution at Vienna, 1848; died, 1859.

The first risings against absolutism.

Europe. The chief movement came in France itself. Louis XVIII. had been succeeded by his brother, Charles X., and a spirit of reaction against all ideas of liberty animated his policy. France was recovering from the exhaustion and the depression which had followed

on the great wars; the ideas of the revolution were again in the ascendant; and the efforts of Charles X. to repress them produced an outbreak. Paris rose against the king's policy. He found himself almost without support, and fled to England. The leaders of the revolution were not prepared to set up a republic. The monarchy was transferred from the house

of Bourbon (to which Charles X. had belonged) to the house of Orleans, and Louis Philippe was declared king. The new monarchy was

much more liberal than the old one. The change was not a violent one, but it was a great break in the arrangements established in 1815. And the movement in France encouraged other movements elsewhere. It had much to do

with the winning of the Reform Bill in England, and it produced at once a movement in Belgium. The Belgians complained that the Dutch regarded

them as a subject people, and put upon them an unfair part of the financial burdens of the State. They rose and expelled the Dutch troops, and secured their independence. Europe was frightened of republics, and so, in Belgium as in France, a constitutional monarchy was set up. The settlement of 1815 had received a second heavy blow.

But these were small events compared with what was soon to come. Throughout Europe there was growing up eager political and social speculation, as enthusiastic as in Europe. that which preceded the French Revolution, and much more definite and constructive. The wave of revolutionary thought passed all over Europe, but as before France was the centre of it. The problem of social organization was occupying men's minds. Could society be so organized, men were asking, that poverty and crime and oppression would be banished from the world? The belief in the possibility of great improvements was again universal. Fourier, Saint Simon, and Comte in France had developed systems that

powerfully affected men's ideas. Socialism in its modern phase began to be a force in politics. And at the same time there was growing a strong sense of nationality and of race. Peoples that had been oppressed by alien races or governments were everywhere claiming an independent life. These aspirations and beliefs brought about the revolutionary movements of the year 1848.

The chief countries which were stirred by this new leaven were Italy, Austria, Germany, and France ; but there was hardly a corner of Europe which did not feel some results of its working. The revolutions of the year 1848.

Italy, since the fall of the Roman Empire, had never been a political unity ; and, both during the Middle Ages and since, her divisions and her weakness had made her the prey of the stronger nations of Europe. Italy. During the storms of the Napoleonic period the dream of Italian unity had arisen only to be rudely dispelled. But in 1848 demands were made by the various states for a constitution, and these demands could not be refused. Sicily, Naples, Piedmont, and Tuscany received constitutions. Milan and other cities of the north rebelled against the Austrian dominion. Even in Rome the pope granted certain constitutional rights to the people. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, put himself at the head of the national movement. It seemed as though the power of Austria would be annihilated, and Italy, in whatever political shape, would be mistress of her own destinies.

Austria had troubles on her hands outside of Italy. The Austrian Empire was made up of a strange collection of races, languages, and religions. The new hopes of change and the new doctrine of nationality excited Austria. among them the liveliest hopes. Strongest among these subject nationalities were the Hungarians and the Czechs of Bohemia. Hungary. Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarians, gave the movement its force and energy, and demanded an independent government for Hungary and the other racial units of Austria. The new movement was so strong and threatening that the emperor was forced to yield. Metternich, who represented in the popular mind all that was worst in the old system, was dismissed ; feudalism was abolished ;

and a constitution was promised. Later the Emperor was forced to flee from Vienna. The problem of the organization of the many races of Austria was an extraordinarily difficult one, but change of some sort seemed assured.

In Germany the aspirations to national unity had grown strong ever since the fall of Napoleon. Prussia and the larger states had, in 1837, formed a customs union or Zollverein, and the practice of common action, then initiated for commercial purposes, paved the way for political union. Thus the year 1848 found the country eager for action. The Prussians demanded a constitution, and the news of the fall of Metternich in Vienna induced the king, Frederick William IV., to yield. A constitution was promised, along with freedom of the Press, and a closer federation for Germany. A national assembly was summoned; and here too the eager anticipations of liberty and constitutional progress seemed fully justified.

In France, so often the centre of European revolutionary movements, events were on a larger scale and achieved a more immediate success. The Government of King Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot was in many respects a good one, and the interests of the middle and commercial classes had been especially attended to. But it was not calculated to evoke enthusiasm, and latterly had had recourse to measures of oppression against its opponents. The minds of many Frenchmen were turning fondly to the glorious memories of the great Napoleon, while others were eager for change which should usher in the golden age, in the possibility of which so many men believed. Against these new feelings the commonplace Government of Louis Philippe was quite unable to maintain itself. Riots broke out in consequence of the opposition of the Government to reform, and Louis Philippe made no effort to fight against them. He abdicated in favour of his grandson, and fled to England. But Paris was in no mind to accept a new monarchy. The republic was declared, and a national assembly elected by manhood suffrage was called together. At first it seemed that the change would be made without bloodshed; but the conflict of aims between the moderate and

the socialist party led to some days of fierce fighting, in which the moderates triumphed. A new constitution was elaborated in which there was to be a single legislative chamber and a president. Who was to be president? Much of the future of France depended on the answer to that momentous question. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the great Napoleon, Louis had recently returned to France after a very Napoleon. adventurous career. All the memories of the greatness of France were connected with his name. The result of the election for the presidency was that an enormous majority of the voters declared for him. Thus Louis Napoleon became President of the second French Republic.

So far, then, the victory lay everywhere with the forces of change, nationality, and constitutional progress. But soon a reaction set in at every point, and upon some arenas of the struggle the Revolution was crushed, upon others its victory was postponed. Reaction.

In Italy the high hopes of the Revolutionists had failed before the end of the year. The Governments which had granted constitutions were in some instances anxious to avail themselves of the first opportunity to take them away again; there were jealousies between the forces of the different states; there was no capable military leader. The Austrian troops, therefore, found little difficulty in suppressing what had at one time seemed the irresistible movement of the north of Italy. Resistance collapsed after a couple of defeats, and the *status quo* in the north of Italy was restored. The same fate befell the Revolutionists in the south of Italy. The constitutions were withdrawn and the old form of government re-established. There had been for a time a republic in Rome, where Mazzini and Garibaldi were the leading spirits; but this, too, failed, and the Papal power was restored. The hope of Italian liberty did not disappear by any means from the minds of men, but it had to wait twenty years for its fulfilment. Reaction in Italy.

In Austria events followed a somewhat similar course. Here, too, there was division of aim and jealousy between race and race, and thus the Government was able for the time to triumph completely. For a time Reaction in Austria.

Vienna was in the hands of the insurgents ; but the city was recaptured by the royalist troops, and a reactionary *régime* re-established. The movement was most dangerous Hungary.

in Hungary, for there an independent government had been proclaimed, and in Kossuth the Hungarian movement had a chief of great wisdom and tenacity. But Hungary had no force that could oppose the Austrian armies when they were free from the Italian difficulty, and now Austria was assisted by Russia. In 1849 the Hungarians were utterly defeated, Kossuth was driven to take refuge in Turkey, and the country passed again under the oppressive yoke of Austria. The general results of the "year of Revolution" for Austria were to strengthen the power of the Austrian Emperor.

Nowhere had the hopes of change been higher than in Germany. There men had confidently hoped for a united Germany.

Germany with constitutional governments established in the different states. All had turned on Prussia and the King of Prussia, and if Frederick William IV. and his advisers had been possessed of real statesmanship and energy, a German Empire under Prussian presidency might have been founded now instead of twenty-three years later. But the Prussian king had neither clearness of thought nor energy of action. He allowed the favourable moment of Austria's complications in Italy and Hungary to pass. He offended the monarchies of Europe, and especially the Czar, on the one hand, and on the other he failed to satisfy the revolutionary and democratic aspirations of his own people. When Austria recovered from her troubles her influence was thrown against Prussia. For a moment it seemed as if the crown of a united Germany was within Frederick William's grasp, but then all changed, and Germany gained neither unity nor liberty from the crisis of 1848. Unity she was destined to gain nearly a quarter of a century later by far different methods than those of which the revolutionists of 1848 dreamed ; liberty, in the sense in which the word was used in that time of sublime enthusiasms, she has not yet gained.

The reaction in France was equally complete. Louis Napoleon, the president, stood to the constitution somewhat in the same relation in which his uncle had stood after the

Revolution of Brumaire (1799). All men's eyes were upon him, and the Assembly was discredited by its squabbles, the desire of a section to restore the Government of Charles X., and by its tampering with the idea of universal suffrage of which Napoleon made himself the special champion. At the end of four years he should have retired from the presidency. But in 1851, confident of his own popularity, he dismissed the Assembly and submitted a new constitution to France, whereby the executive government, including the president, was to be elected for ten years. An almost unanimous vote gave Napoleon the powers he desired. A year later he felt himself strong enough to take a yet further step. He had been on a great tour through the provinces of France, and felt sure of their support. He asked, therefore, for the restoration of the Empire, and again an overwhelming majority supported his ambition. He reigned until 1870 with the title of Napoleon III.



Napoleon III.

Son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland; born, 1808; in London, 1838; President of the Republic, 1848; emperor, 1852; a prisoner at Sedan, 1870; died, 1873.

Thus the second French Republic had ended even more quickly than the first in the establishment of the Empire. The revolutionary movements ended for the time everywhere in the temporary victory of absolutism and reaction. But the victory could be only temporary. The ideas of 1848, like the ideas of 1789, were too important, and a large part of them too true, to be annihilated by military or constitutional defeat. So men still cherished all over Europe the vision of a regenerated Europe which had floated upon them in 1848; and, before the end of the century some of these ideas were realized in France and elsewhere.

(*Fyffe's Modern Europe*; *Alison Phillips' Modern Europe*; *The Student's History of France*; *Sevanobos' Political History of Europe since 1814*.

CHAPTER XVII

The Unification of Italy and Germany

The Crimean War	1854
Napoleon III. in Italy	1859
The Kingdom of Italy	1865
William I., King of Prussia	1861
Battle of Sadowa	1866
Franco-German War	1870
The German Empire	1871

THE enthusiastic aspirations of the revolutionists of 1848 had failed at every point. They had desired political self-government, and the establishment of national unity. But the result was that nearly everywhere absolute governments were established; Italy and Germany were still divided, and the national spirit unsatisfied; Hungary still lay under Austrian rule. During the next twenty-three years Italy and Germany achieved the national unity which the revolutionists had aspired after. But by what different means! Popular enthusiasm and the rights of nationalities counted in the final result for very little. Resolute statesmanship, employing astute intrigue and great armaments, brought Italy and Germany under one government. It was done, as Bismarck said, not by Parliamentary decrees, but by blood and iron.

These great events can best be understood if we look first at France. Napoleon III. was ruling there. He had been raised to the imperial throne by the vote of the people of France, and he claimed to represent the popular will and the Napoleonic tradition. But there was little in common between the methods and character of Napoleon I. and those of his nephew. The prestige of France was great in Europe; but she was no longer able to force her will upon civilized Europe and to refashion

the European state system as she thought well. France was far weaker than in the great days of Napoleon, and Europe was far stronger. Thus Napoleon III. had to have recourse to subtle intrigue, where Napoleon I. would have struck straight and hard. Yet military prestige was absolutely necessary to Napoleon III. Only by dazzling the eyes of the people could he induce them to forego their desire for freedom and democratic government.

Napoleon III. had been proclaimed Emperor in December, 1852. In less than two years France was at war with Russia. The question at issue involved the whole future of the Turkish state and the position of Russia in the east of Europe. In resisting Russian pressure upon Turkey, France had the alliance not only of Turkey herself, but of Great Britain, and, during the later stages of the war, of the King of Sardinia: that is, of the strongest state of northern Italy. There is no need here to recapitulate the course of the war. Vast numbers were employed; there was great loss of life by battle, disease, and cold; but the course of the campaign was tame, and the strategy was dull and unadventurous, compared with what Europe had known during the great Napoleonic wars. No first-rate military ability was shown, at least, on the side of the allies; but the Russians were defeated again and again, and after the fall of the great city of Sebastopol, in September, 1855, Russia accepted terms. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed; Russian warships were excluded from the Black Sea, and her southward advance seemed permanently checked. A few years later it turned out that the loss inflicted on Russia was not so great as it seemed. Her warships were soon seen in the Black Sea again, and her armies passed victoriously to the south of the Danube.

Napoleon III. had achieved a success in the Crimean War, which was extremely valuable in consolidating his power at home. Soon he appeared decisively on a still more important arena. The beginnings of Italian unity and liberty were largely the work of his diplomacy and his armies.

In no country had the movements of 1848 been attended by nobler enthusiasms than in Italy. The prophet of Italian

liberty was Mazzini, who preached the doctrines of democracy and national unity with unsurpassed religious fervour. But nothing had been done. Italy was still divided. Austria held Venice and a broad tract of the valley of the Po; the papal states stretched across Italy, turbulent and ill governed; in the south Naples and Sicily were in the oppressive hands of the Bourbon monarchy. But in the far north-west there was the so-called kingdom of Sardinia, consisting of Savoy and Piedmont, as well as of Sardinia; and the Sardinian king, Victor Emmanuel, represented Italian sentiment and constitutional liberty, and carried the cause to victory. But, great as were the services of Victor Emmanuel, the liberation of Italy was not really his work. The two names that should be most closely associated with the great result are Cavour, the diplomatist, and Garibaldi, the soldier.

Napoleon III. desired a further field in which to distinguish himself; and Cavour saw in French assistance the best hope of starting the national movement. He hoped at first that diplomacy and a show of force would be enough; but hard fighting was necessary in the end. In 1859 a French army appeared in the plains of Lombardy—where French armies had fought so often and with such varied success during the last four hundred years. France and her Italian allies triumphed again, first at Magenta, then at Solferino. It seemed as though Austria might be driven from Italy, and the highest dreams of the Italian patriots brought near to accomplishment. But Napoleon had had enough of the war, and was frightened by the aspirations of Italy. He concluded peace with the Emperor of Austria, on terms widely different from the desires of Cavour. The King of Sardinia was to receive Lombardy; all else was to be restored to the former owners. Cavour retired into private life in passionate indignation.

It seemed that little had been done for the national cause, but the prestige of Austria had been shaken and the position of the Sardinian king, as the champion of Italian unity, established. The next step followed very quickly. To the south of the Sardinian kingdom there lay Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna (a part of the papal territories). Risings broke out in all these states—a

common army was organized—union with the kingdom of Sardinia was demanded. Cavour returned from his retirement as this new hope dawned. Napoleon III. was inclined to resist this infringement of the arrangement that he had made, but he was bought off by the cession of Nice and Savoy. So the above-mentioned districts were incorporated in the Sardinian kingdom, and free Italy stretched far into the centre of the peninsula.

The next step was the most romantic of all. Sicily and Naples had been stirred by the great events in the north, but there had been no actual movement of revolt against the Bourbon dominion. But now Garibaldi arose, The third stage (1860). one of the most adventurous soldiers of the nineteenth century. He landed with a thousand red-shirted volunteers in Sicily, and his arrival was the signal for the overthrow of the Bourbon dominion in the island. He crossed the straits, and the Neapolitan kingdom fell into his hands, though not without fierce fighting. Cavour saw Garibaldi's advance with alarm as well as hope; for Garibaldi's ideas were of an extreme revolutionary type, and the statesman in him was not the equal of the soldier. But in the end diplomacy solved the problem. Not only Naples and Sicily, but the greater part of the papal territories as well were annexed to what was now the kingdom of Italy.

Even now the wishes of the Italian patriots fell short of realization. Venice still bowed to the yoke of the foreigner; and Rome, by far the most famous of all the Italian cities, was no part of the new Italian kingdom. We must anticipate events in order to see how Venice and Rome were incorporated. In order to gain that end Italy had to triumph over the opposition or the jealousy of Austria and of France: for Austria was mistress of the Venetian lands, and the papal power in Rome was supported by a French garrison. But in 1866, Austria was at war with Prussia, and the Italians, though far from triumphant in their conflicts with the Austrian troops, succeeded in securing the territory of Venice in the settlement with which the war ended. Then, in 1870, France succumbed to the attack of Prussia, in that great war at which we must glance in a moment. The French garrison, which had for some

The completion of Italian unity.

time past occupied Rome and defended the Papal power, was withdrawn, and in September the Italian troops occupied the Eternal City. The unity of Italy was complete, and the temporal dominion of the Papacy was at an end.

Italy was at last more than a "geographical expression." She was a state, and henceforth a progressive member of the European commonwealth of states. Very shortly after the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, Germany was declared an Empire, and was henceforth, until the Great War, the great military state of Europe. Here, too, we must trace the chief steps by which the great event was arrived at.

German unity was the work of Prussia even more than Italian unity was the work of Sardinia; and Prussia achieved her great object by the humiliation of two rivals, Austria and France. Austria was her rival within the limits of Germany itself; France was her rival in Europe, and resisted, openly or secretly, each step in the advance of Prussia towards the refoundation of the German Empire. But before the outbreak of war in 1870 there were signs that, in spite of Napoleon's success in the Crimea and Italy, the power of France was declining. In 1863, a rising in Poland was beaten down, and the efforts of France to control the movement were quite unavailing. A little later the effort of Napoleon III. to establish a European ruler, in close alliance with France, upon the throne of Mexico, ended in ignominious failure, as soon as the United States were free from the great civil war which had been raging within their boundaries. Moreover, popular discontent was beginning to show itself in a dangerous shape in France itself.

Three names stand out in Prussia's triumphant march on the path to Empire—the king, William I., who came to the throne in 1860; Bismarck, the powerful, capable, unscrupulous diplomatist of the age; and Moltke, the organizer of the Prussian army and the greatest strategist that Europe has known since the fall of Napoleon.

It was upon Austria that the first blow of Prussia fell. Their rivalry became acute over the question of the duchies

of Schleswig-Holstein, which had been forced from the grasp of Denmark by a joint Austrian and Prussian occupation. After the occupation, the future of Schleswig-Holstein led to sharp diplomatic friction and then to war. Prussia had the alliance of Italy, but the chances were believed to be favourable to Austria. Yet the Austrian power collapsed at once. A single great battle (Sadowa, July, 1866) forced Austria to accept terms. The German confederation was dissolved. Austria was excluded from any participation in German affairs. Prussia annexed Hanover, and was henceforth the chief power in Germany, without rival or second. Now the great monarchy was to receive the further dignity of the imperial title, as Charles the Great and Otto I. had received it; but this time the pope was to have no hand in conferring it.

There have been few great wars in European history where the nominal cause of the struggle has been more widely removed from the real cause than in the war between France and Prussia which broke out in 1870. The diplomaticists were arguing about the succession to the Spanish crown; but the real point at issue was the rival claims of France and Prussia to a leading place in Europe. Napoleon III. and his ministers had followed the advance of Prussia with great jealousy, and had declared that Germany must not be united under her leadership; and Prussia saw in the power of France the chief obstacle to her imperial ambitions. Napoleon III. had no desire for war for its own sake, but his unstable position in France required the support of diplomatic or military success, and he believed that success in a war against Germany was assured. The statesmen of Prussia welcomed a struggle, for which they had long and carefully prepared, and they, too, were confident of success.

The diplomacy of Prussia had carefully isolated France before the outbreak of hostilities. She had hoped for help from Italy, Austria, and the states of southern Germany; but Italy was irritated with France on account of the surrender of Savoy and Nice, which she had enforced, while Bismarck had succeeded in making arrangements which assured the neutrality of Austria and the active assistance of the southern states of Germany. The isolation of France.

The French had designed to open the war by an attack on Germany, but they found themselves unprepared when the hour of action arrived. On the Prussian side the course of the war. there was a complete contrast : all was efficiency and preparedness ; and immediately, on the outbreak of hostilities, an enormous German force poured across the French frontier. The rapidity and completeness of the successes which followed exceeded anything that Europe had known since the days of the first Napoleon. The French did not win one single engagement of even second-rate importance, and had immediately to change aggression for a defensive campaign. But their efforts at concentration were ruined by the overwhelming catastrophe of Sedan (September, 1870), in which the Emperor Napoleon was defeated and forced to surrender. Marshal Bazaine was shut up in Metz, but he also was forced to surrender in October, 1870, with all his troops. Meanwhile a rising in Paris had declared the empire abolished and the republic re-established. If Prussia's quarrel had been only with Napoleon III. the war might have ended here ; but Bismarck declared that France must cede Alsace and Lorraine. The republican government refused so great a surrender, and the German army advanced to the siege of Paris. The defence of the city was conducted with great skill and heroic endurance ; but all efforts to relieve the city from the outside, and all sallies from the inside, were beaten off. At the end of January, 1871, the great city—in some respects the capital of Europe—surrendered. Alsace and part of Lorraine were to become German again, and France was to pay a vast war indemnity.

Before the conclusion had been reached the Prussian king had become the Emperor of Germany. The prodigious success of the war had set the seal to Prussia's predominance in Germany. Conditions had to be arranged with Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this was the work of Bismarck. At last, in January, 1871, William of Prussia was acclaimed emperor in the great hall of the Palace of Versailles. Versailles had often, in the past, echoed the humiliations of Germany at the hands of France : the palace of Louis XIV. and Napoleon I. now witnessed the completion of the triumph of Germany.

The French Republic had another terrible trial to pass through before it could feel itself in any way secure. There has often been much opposition between Paris and the rest of France. Paris has usually been restless, progressive and revolutionary. The country districts of France have been for the most part (though not at the beginning of the French Revolution) opposed to change. This antagonism between France and Paris now showed itself in a terrible form. It was Paris, not France, that had overthrown the Empire of Napoleon III., and the destiny of France had been decided by the fall of Paris. But the extreme politicians of the capital were discontented with the settlement at the end of the war. An Assembly had been called together at Bordeaux with the historian and orator, Thiers, as its President. After this Assembly had accepted the terms that Germany insisted on it proceeded to debate on the constitution and form of government under which France was to live for the future. The radicals, socialists, and anarchists of Paris protested against the action of the Assembly. It had been elected, they said, only to make peace: it had no right to decide on the form of the constitution. They suspected, too, that it would establish a monarchy in some form or other, for the majority of the members were royalists. The revolutionaries of Paris, therefore, rose in rebellion against the Assembly, which had now moved to Versailles. It is not easy to see how they wished to organize the government of France: but Paris and other great cities in France were to have complete control of their own affairs, and were to be connected only by some loose federal organization. But Thiers decided that the movement of Paris must be suppressed, and the prisoners that were liberated by Germany gave him the necessary force. After terrible bloodshed and much destruction of property and of the ancient buildings of Paris, the city was reduced to obedience.

Then the Assembly proceeded to consider the form of the constitution. The royalists, we have seen, were in a majority; but they were divided as to the king they desired. Some wanted to restore the old Bourbon line; some wanted the House of Orleans. It was the division of

the royalists that allowed the Republic to triumph. Thiers had fallen from the presidency and had been succeeded by McMahon before the end came. But in 1875 a republican constitution was constructed with a president holding office for seven years.

Stillman's Union of Italy; *Headlam's Bismarck* (Heroes of the Nations); *Cavour*, by *Countess Cesaresco* (Foreign Statesmen); *Hano-
taux, Modern France*.

CHAPTER XVIII

Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1875)

Catholic Relief Bill	1829
Great Reform Bill	1832
Peel abolishes the Corn Laws	1846
Disraeli's Reform Bill	1867
Gladstone's Great Administration	1868-1874
Lord Beaconsfield at the Berlin Congress	1878

GREAT BRITAIN never enjoyed greater honour in Europe than after the battle of Waterloo. Her system of government seemed fully justified. As all through the wars against Napoleon he had been denounced for overthrowing the old European order, it seemed that Great Britain would rigidly maintain her old system, and would continue in the polity that had proved so successful. Certainly the first result of the great war was to strengthen all the conservative forces in Britain.

But that did not last long. There were forces at work in

England which made the old order almost untenable. It had suited an England that was mainly agricultural; but now the industrial changes had come and some change was inevitable. The democratic theories of the French Revolution had been loudly denounced, even by some who had at first sympathized with them; but when peace came they were more favourably considered, and they soon acquired an irresistible momentum even in England. We will begin by tracing the chief constitutional changes which passed over England during these seventy years.

The Great Reform Bill came in 1832, seventeen years after the battle of Waterloo. It was a revolutionary change. The existing franchise and electoral arrangements gave power, as we have seen, into the hands of the landed aristocracy of England. The Reform Bill of 1832 transferred power into the hands of the commercial and industrial classes and the middle class generally. The idea of the change was bitterly resisted by the Tories and by their great leader the Duke of Wellington. It was supported by the Whigs, partly out of genuine conviction, and partly because they saw no chance of returning to power so long as the old basis of Parliament was retained. Workmen agitated and rioted for the change, though when it came it did not admit them to the franchise. The old order could not be maintained. It broke down in Ireland first, where an agitation conducted by Dan O'Connell for the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament was backed by the whole force of the Irish peasantry, and succeeded at last. A bill was passed in 1829 putting Catholics on an equality with others so far as political rights are concerned. That was a breach in the old system: another and a wider one soon followed. The cry for Parliamentary reform grew louder and louder, and it was backed by threats of armed revolt and revolution. In the end the existing Houses of Parliament yielded, and the measure passed. It had none of the huge results that were anticipated. The workers felt themselves duped. The new electors were by no means inclined to revolution. But, none the less, it inaugurated a great change. It was called final: it was

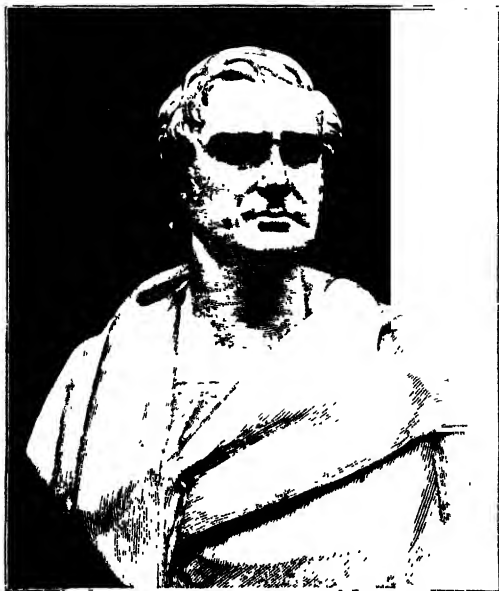
declared that England would never have another Reform Bill. But before long the country was plunged into another agitation for political reform.

The early years of Queen Victoria's reign saw two agitations proceeding at the same time, both working for changes, **Agitation for** which were designed to improve the condition of **Free Trade.** the people, but suspicious and jealous of one another. There was first the agitation against the Corn Laws and in favour of free trade conducted by Cobden and Bright. It was the ideal of what an agitation in a constitutional state should be—vehement but never violent; appealing to the reasoned interests of the people rather than to low passions. It found its strongest arguments in the condition of the town populations and of the Irish peasantry, conditions which were due to the taxes on corn, which did not allow corn to enter the country freely and therefore cheaply. It was opposed by the Tory Government and by Sir Robert Peel, the ablest member **The abolition** of it. But in the end that remarkable man was **of the Corn** persuaded of the justice and the necessity of **Laws.** the proposed change, and in 1846 he passed a measure for the abolition of the tax on corn through both Houses of Parliament, in spite of bitter opposition.

The other contemporary agitation was not so successful. It was the Chartist movement. This was a real agitation of the working-classes. The Reform Bill of 1832 had **Chartism.** given them no increase of power, though they had supported it so strongly. In some constituencies it had even excluded from the franchise working men who already possessed it. A league was now formed for the winning of the "People's Charter," which demanded universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, and certain other reforms. Great alarm was felt. Some thought it was the beginning of another revolution like that of France, and fancied they foresaw another Reign of Terror. But the Chartists, as they were called, found no really capable leaders; and though the movement was reasonable, and most of its demands have since been granted, it died down, and not much was heard of it after 1848.

After this the idea of Parliamentary Reform was quiet for

a time. Palmerston's influence was in the ascendant, and, though Palmerston was a Whig, he was at heart opposed to reform. The country, too, was occupied with the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, which followed immediately. So though motions for reform were made from time to time, they were hardly taken seriously. After Palmerston's death (1865) the question became quickly



Sir Robert Peel : from the bust by Noble in the National Portrait Gallery.

urgent. The actual passing of the next Franchise Act came from the Tories, not from the Whigs. Various The Reform proposals had been made from the Whig side, and Bill of 1867. had been resisted by the Tories. But when they came into power, with Lord Derby as Prime Minister and Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer, a new measure was brought forward, which by amendments became a broad measure, enfranchising the workmen of the towns. The whole incident was a great triumph for Disraeli, who conducted the Bill.

through the House of Commons ; and a rebuff for Gladstone, the life-long opponent of Disraeli, who found himself on this occasion outmanœuvred (1867).

But the Tories did not remain long in office, and Gladstone and the Liberal party (for that was the name now usually employed instead of Whigs) had a long lease of power. It was not, however, until 1884 that Gladstone brought forward the third great Parliamentary Reform Bill of the nineteenth century. The Act of 1832 had enfranchised the middle classes ; the Act of 1867 had given the vote to the workmen of the towns ; now Gladstone's Bill enfranchised the agricultural labourers. It was the last important measure dealing with the franchise until during the great war of 1914 the vote was conferred on the women of England.

Let us pass now to the briefest summary of the foreign policy and military history of Great Britain during this period.

The Foreign Policy of Great Britain. It was on the whole a peaceful period, though the Colonial Empire entailed a succession of wars, which were not always small ones. The chief wars were the Crimean War (1854-1856) and the Indian Mutiny. Great Britain was drawn into the first by the fear of Russia, which had been sedulously fostered by Palmerston. It is generally agreed now that our action was unnecessary and unwise. During the great war which broke out in 1914 the forces of Great Britain fought in alliance with Russia to accomplish the breaking up of the Turkish Empire, which we were then so anxious to prevent. The Crimean War showed the high fighting qualities of British soldiers and the poor organization of the Government. Nothing is now left of the results which were supposed to have been achieved. The Indian Mutiny (1857-1858) was an affair of more lasting importance. The British rule in India rested partly on the East India Company, an association for trade, and partly on an administration appointed by the Home Government. The armies were composed mainly of native troops disciplined and drilled in the European manner, with an admixture of British regiments. The native troops had fought well and loyally in the

past. Their mutiny in 1857 was the result of religious fanaticism, suspicion of the Government's intentions, and confidence in their own strength. The whole British power in India was for a time in great danger. But the mutiny was fought down. Its immediate result was that the British rule was established in a more direct form than before. The East India Company was brought to an end. The Government of Great Britain was now directly and solely responsible for the maintenance of the British dominion in India.

There were no other great wars during this period ; but we may note two important occasions on which Great Britain did *not* fight. We were brought to the verge of war with the United States, during the struggle between the Northern and Southern States, by the depredations of a southern cruiser—the *Alabama*—built in England. The outbreak of war was prevented by Gladstone's decision to submit the matter to arbitration. Later when the United States fought by the side of Great Britain in the Great War we shuddered at the thought of the possible consequences of war with America if it had broken out. The other instance is a more doubtful one. During the great struggle between France and Germany (1870–1871), Britain was implored to interfere directly or indirectly on behalf of France. She refused, and maintained her neutrality to the end. Many think that it would have been possible to save France from her great humiliation, and to establish close and friendly terms even then with the Republic whose high qualities we so readily recognize to-day.

A special feature of this time is the importance that belongs to Irish affairs. The relations of England and Ireland have been important and often mutually disastrous from the time of the occupation of Ireland in the reign of Henry II. But in the nineteenth century Irish politics assumed a new phase. In the past the will of Great Britain had always been imposed on Ireland by force ; but now attempts were made to remove the abuses and oppressions of the government of Ireland, and to organize it in a way agreeable to the interests and feelings of the Irish people.

Much was done, though the attempts have up to the present been far from completely successful.

The century opened with the Act of Union, which has been noted in a previous chapter. We have seen, too, that its **Consequences** success was made more difficult by George III.'s of the Act of refusal of a perfectly just and safe measure, **Union**.

which would have given Catholics equal political rights with Protestants. After the battle of Waterloo the new feeling of security caused more agitation for changes in Ireland as well as in England. What was demanded was that Roman Catholics should be given the right to sit in Parliament. They had the vote already ; but they could not be members of Parliament, and they naturally felt the exclusion as a stigma. Dan O'Connell was the great Irish leader of this movement. It roused vehement opposition in England, and almost universal enthusiasm in Ireland. It was only when civil war seemed close at hand that the proposal was accepted. The reform was long overdue, and had none of the consequences either for good or evil that had been anticipated.

The granting of Catholic Emancipation, however, was a great victory for the Irish, and a great breach in the old order. It hastened the coming of the Great Reform Act in England ; and it stimulated the Irish to further demands. There were three things that were chiefly aimed at in the long period of agitation that now opened : first, the settlement of religious grievances ; secondly, the improvement of the conditions of land tenure ; thirdly, the winning of legislative independence (Home Rule) for Ireland.

Two names are most closely associated with the struggle. On the side of Ireland Parnell, and on the side of England Parnell and Gladstone. Parnell was a very different man Gladstone. from Dan O'Connell. He was cold, and appeared to be without enthusiasm ; he was of English blood, a Protestant, and a landlord. But his tenacity of purpose, power of organization, and unshaken devotion to the cause of Ireland made him the most powerful leader that the Nationalist party ever had. Gladstone took up the Irish question with a passionate enthusiasm for justice and humanity, but also with a conviction that nothing would contribute so much

to the strength of England as the removal of the grievances and the jealousy of Ireland. The chief events in this story are the following. In 1869 the Irish Church was disestablished and in part disendowed. It was the Church of a small minority in Ireland, and yet was supported by the payments of the whole people. After that Gladstone turned his attention to the land question, and in 1870 the Irish Land Act was passed. The tenants



William Ewart Gladstone.

(From Photo by London Stereoscopic Company.)

were given a right in their land: their landlords could henceforth neither evict them arbitrarily nor raise their rent as they chose. These measures—and they are only the chief of many—had beneficial results. But they were far from producing the healing effect that Gladstone had hoped. The demand for Home Rule was pressed as strongly as ever, and we shall see in another chapter how at a later date Gladstone attempted to grant that also.

The prominence of the Irish question was one novel feature of the nineteenth century. Another was the emergence of social legislation, and the passing of laws which aimed at improving the physical and economic condition of the poorer classes in the State. There had been laws of this kind in the past. The long series of Poor Laws has this character to some degree; but it was new that statesmen should think of the improvement of the condition of the poor as a chief aim of legislation and politics. In this, statesmanship was in harmony with the best thought of the time. The French Revolution had given to the policy of Europe a humanitarian aim which it has never entirely lost nor can lose. Most of the writers of the middle of the century—Mill, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Disraeli, Dickens—however widely they differed in other things, were agreed in attaching supreme importance to the “condition of the people question.” Some of the chief measures that illustrate this tendency are the following. Immediately after the Reform Bill of 1832 the Act for the Emancipation of Slaves was passed (1833). Then Lord Shaftesbury began, in 1833, to press for measures regulating the work of children in factories; and this was the small beginning of a long series of Factory Acts which have brought the lives of men, women and children in shops, factories, and mines under the protection of the law. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws has the same humanitarian tendency. Cobden and Bright brought forward many arguments for the repeal; but it was the condition of the poor in the great cities of England, and of the peasantry in Ireland, that provided the strongest inducement for the passing of the measure. Chartism professed purely political aims, but they were advocated in order that the working classes might win for themselves a better social and economic position. All Gladstone’s Irish policy professed humanitarian aims that the eighteenth century would hardly have understood. We may also bring under this head the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which was the beginning of a genuine system of national education.

Perhaps we have not yet mentioned the most important events of these seventy years—those which are concerned with the

growth of the British Empire. This book is, indeed, concerned only with the History of Europe; but just as English history has for a long time been unintelligible without an understanding of European history, so the time is close at hand, if it has not already come, when the student of European history will have to look outside of Europe; and events in Europe itself will be seen to depend largely on what is happening in America, Africa, Australia, or Asia. During the Great War of 1914 Canadians, Africans, Australians, and New Zealanders fought in Belgium for the defence of England and France; and the United States threw its weight into the same scale. We must, therefore, devote a few sentences to the growth of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. The Empire was not much talked about between 1815 and 1875. There was a widespread feeling that the colonies would in the end separate themselves completely from the mother country. But the expansion of Great Britain went on all the time, and steps were taken on which the modern strength of the Empire largely depends. One general feature of this time was the granting of legislative independence to the colonies, which has been developed until all the larger colonies are self-governing states, connected with the mother country only by the weakest political ties, but bound to her by an affection and interest which grow stronger and stronger. Canada became self-governing in 1840; Australia in 1856; New Zealand in 1875. The granting of independence was a bold experiment; but it has been completely justified by events. There is hardly in history a political phenomenon so remarkable as the loyalty of the free colonies to the British Empire.

There was trouble in Canada soon after the accession of Queen Victoria, caused by the jealousy of the English and French populations and by the proximity of the United States. In 1838 all the country was united under one government, but this proved a failure, and in 1867 the present Dominion of Canada was founded, and each of the provinces was given a separate legislature for its domestic affairs (a sort of Home Rule) under the general supervision of a Federal Parliament at Ottawa.

Australia had been declared to belong to the Empire in 1788, but it is to the middle of the nineteenth century that the real development of the colony belongs. The great island-continent was at first divided up into several colonies, some of which were used for penal colonies for English convicts. But this system was abandoned; the discovery of gold brought a great rush of immigrants into the country, and the condition of the colonies justified the grant of self-government. New Zealand was first settled in 1839, and in 1875 was united into a single colony.

The history of South Africa was fuller of incident than Canada and Australia, for in South Africa the British settlers were in contact with the Dutch Boers, and with large and rapidly multiplying native races. In 1843 Natal was taken into the hands of the British. But the position was unstable and soon led to war, which, however, falls outside of the period covered in the chapter.

We have hardly mentioned in this chapter the name of the sovereign of Great Britain. It is characteristic of the age that other things have become more important than the history of the monarchy, and that the history of Great Britain can no longer be made to fit into the framework of reigns and dynasties. But the influence of the monarchy, and of the individual sovereign must not be left out of sight. George IV. and William IV. did not raise the prestige of monarchical institutions; but Queen Victoria won the enthusiastic loyalty of her subjects. She accepted frankly the position of a constitutional sovereign and made no effort to interfere with the working of Parliamentary institutions. And in the end the simplicity and loyalty of her character and her long and intimate knowledge of European affairs made her influence considerable. The growth of the Empire and the independence of the colonies has tended to increase the importance of the monarchy, which is more than ever the visible symbol of the unity of the Empire.

A volume in the *Political History of England* by Law and Sanders carries the story from 1837 to 1901. *McCarthy's History of our own Times*, in five volumes, provides a bright and readable narrative of

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Queen Victoria's reign. The best books on the period are, however, the great biographies, chief among which are *Morley's Gladstone: The Life of Disraeli by Monypenny and Buckle*; *Trevelyan's Bright*; *Morley's Cobden*; *Martin's Prince Consort*. The *Memoirs of Greville* for the early part and the *Letters of Queen Victoria* for the later time are equally useful.

CHAPTER XIX

Forty Years of Peace between Two Wars

Triple Alliance	1883
Dreyfus affair	1894
Bismarck dismissed	1888
Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill	1886
The Boer War	1899

THE years from 1871 to 1914 bear a very clearly marked character, especially when they are looked at across the great war that broke out in 1914. They seemed to General most of those who lived in Western Europe, and character of especially to the inhabitants of Great Britain, a the period. peaceful period. Many hoped that the war between France and Germany had made European peace more stable. Carlyle welcomed the change: he declared that Germany would maintain her predominance for hundreds of years, and that she would use it to maintain the peace of Europe. There never was a period during which so much thought was devoted to social questions. Socialism changed in character and lost a great deal of its terrors for the ordinary public. The well-being of the citizens—the physical, intellectual, and moral wellbeing—came to be the avowed aim of the state. In Great Britain our annals are chiefly occupied with debates and laws about Irish land, about education, about the conditions of labour, and about the reform of the constitution. There were many wars; but they were distant and called out only a small fraction of the strength of the Hope of country. Encouraged by the long duration of permanent peace, men began boldly to ask whether wars need peace, ever be, and schemes for a general peace were produced in plenty, and eagerly canvassed. Warning voices were not

wanting on the other side, which declared that this condition could not last, and that the volcano was accumulating its fires below ; but in our islands at least the mind of the people was not much impressed by these warnings. When the greatest war known to history came in July, 1914, it was as unexpected as the end of the world ; and only gradually did we wake to realize its unexampled horrors. In this chapter we shall glance at some of the activities of this time without considering the earthquake by which they were interrupted.

The war of 1870-1871 had been fought out as a great duel between France and Germany. It was not followed as, International the Napoleonic war had been by any attempt to relations after found European institutions. Germany, indeed, the Franco- was intoxicated by her victory, and refused during Prussian war. all this period to co-operate seriously in any of the efforts that were made to find a way to settled peace. She stood at first proudly isolated, and convinced of her ability to suffice by herself to meet all dangers. But soon the unity of Europe, and of the world, produced its effects. Combinations and alliances were made, which conduct us up to the eve of the war of 1914.

Bismarck's was the dominating figure in Europe from the Franco-German war until his dismissal from office by the Emperor William II. His first aim was to, Bismarck and the three join together in some sort of alliance the three Emperors' empires of Europe—Germany, Austria, and Russia. League. Austria was ready to forgive Germany for the war of 1866 : Russia had been friendly rather than hostile to Germany during her great struggle with France. All three powers were essentially military in their organization, and an alliance naturally suggested itself. Some understanding was arrived at, and men talked of the "League of the Three Emperors," though no definite league was ever made. Events in the Balkan peninsula broke up the understanding and gave a new turn to international relationships. The two great rivals for influence there were Austria and Russia, and Russia did not think she had received from Germany the support she might have had in her war with Turkey in 1877 and the negotiations which followed. Thus Germany and Russia

drew apart from one another, and a new combination was possible.

Bismarck still maintained his friendship with Austria, and it soon ripened into actual alliance. Negotiations were opened with the kingdom of Italy, and she was induced to join with Germany and Austria in the formation of the Triple Alliance. The position of Italy was strange. The Italians and Germans had little in common in their character, or their history, or their political institutions. But Italy was jealous of the ambitions of France in Africa: she was troubled with domestic difficulties, and thought these would be relieved by the support of the strong Central Powers. So in 1883 the Triple Alliance was formed. Italy soon became uneasy in it, and her loyalty to it was clearly weakening before the Great War came and broke it asunder.

These events isolated France still further. She seemed for a time politically discredited in Europe, though the genius of the people showed itself in literature, art, and science, not less but much more than it had done before the war. It seemed possible, at one time even probable, that Germany, irritated by the unexpectedly rapid recovery of France, would strike again, and this time (in Bismarck's words) would "bleed her white." France looked round for support, and for some time was unable to find it. But Germany was the enemy of both Russia and France, and this drew the Eastern autocracy and the Western republic into what seemed at first a strange alliance (1891). About ten years later Great Britain entered into intimate relations with this alliance without at first actually joining it. The Boer War had revealed the hostility of Germany, and the rapid growth of the German navy had roused in the minds of some English statesmen a sense of danger. So in 1903 visits were interchanged, and all the world knew that France and Great Britain had settled their disputes. This was known at first as the *entente cordiale*. It ripened into an alliance which has borne the tremendous strain of the Great War. We see in it, too, the beginning of that diplomacy which during the Great War built up an alliance of nearly the whole world against the ambitions of Germany.

The *entente cordiale* of Great Britain and France.

These alliances seemed for several years favourable to peace ; but efforts were also made to provide a more certain basis for it. The Czar in 1898 proposed that a conference should be held at the Hague, in which it was hoped that all nations would be represented, and that some means might be found for the reduction of armaments, and the amicable settlement of quarrels. It was a noble effort, and the future may look back to it as the beginning of a better epoch ; but the temper of the states of Europe (and especially of Germany) was too suspicious and too military to allow of any great progress being made on the road to peace.

We will now note some of the chief features in the history of the chief European states during this period.

France was constantly in stormy waters ; but, in spite of frequent prophecy of catastrophe, she came successfully through all. Her constitutional difficulties were very great. A republic had been declared after the Battle of Sedan ; but it was far from safely established when the war came to an end. In the Assembly that decided on the form of government most of the deputies were in favour of a monarchy of some sort—either the old monarchy of the Bourbons or the more recent monarchy of the house of Orleans. There were some, too, who would have been glad to see Napoleon's Empire set up again. But they were bitterly at variance as to the particular monarch that should be chosen, and in the end, by a very narrow majority, a republican form of government was adopted, as the form of government " that divided men least." The mistakes which in 1848 had made the Republic so short-lived were avoided. The President was chosen for seven years, not by the people as a whole, but by a joint meeting of the two legislative assemblies. The English Parliamentary and Cabinet system was adopted with few changes ; but it has never worked as smoothly in France as with us.

The Republic seemed almost accidental in its origin, and its enemies have had confident hopes of overthrowing it. The royalists and imperialists have not openly attacked it in the

legislative assembly, but indirect attacks have been frequent and dangerous.

In 1888 there was the Boulangist movement. General Boulanger was a popular soldier, who had gained some reputation by his military reforms. He became the figurehead of a movement the precise aim of which is still uncertain. He desired "the revision of the constitution," and he would, if he had been successful, probably have substituted for the President, elected by the combined assemblies, a head of the state chosen by the vote of the whole people. That was the form of government which had led Napoleon III. rapidly to the imperial throne. But though Boulanger had some great triumphs at the elections, the existing government took strong measures against him. He was exiled, and his movement collapsed.

The Dreyfus affair is even more obscure than the Boulangist movement. Dreyfus was a Jewish officer in the French army, who in 1894 was condemned as a spy to a convict-prison in the West Indies. But there soon arose grave doubts as to the justice of the sentence, and an extremely hot controversy developed. The issue at stake was greater than the life and fate of Dreyfus. A section of the army and of the Church seem to have hoped to use the agitation in order to change the form of the Republic and weaken the democracy. Those who had undertaken the defence of Dreyfus triumphed in the end. He was brought home from his tropical prison and pardoned. The Prime Minister, Waldeck Rousseau, was chiefly responsible for the measure which brought the Republic through this grave danger. It led on to a sharp blow against the organization of the Church, which was believed to have associated itself with the attack on Dreyfus. The concordat, a treaty with the Papacy, which had regulated Church affairs in France for centuries past, was annulled. The Church was separated from the state. Certain arrangements were made for Church management in the future; these, however, were rejected by the Pope, and a bitter contest ensued, which has not yet ended.

Labour troubles have been acute and often revolutionary.

in France during this period, but we must pass over them. The vigour of the French character and the brilliancy and hopefulness of the French intellect had not been in any way abated by the disasters of the war. The Republic was more and more generally accepted. The Great War of 1914 will introduce great changes into French life, as into the life of all European states; but there seems no likelihood of the Republic being overthrown.

The war with France had seemed to set the seal on Bismarck's policy. France was humiliated. Germany was united under the leadership of Prussia. The history of Germany, 1871-1914, military reputation of Prussia stood as high as it had done under Frederick the Great.

The constitution of the German Empire was the same as that of the North German Confederation, which had been built up by Bismarck after the war with Austria in 1866. The different states of Germany (there were twenty-six of them, of which Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg were the most important) managed their own affairs, and were in possession of what we should call Home Rule. But over all was the Imperial Government based on two chambers: (1) the Reichstag or Diet, elected by manhood suffrage; and (2) the Bundesrath or Federal Council, consisting, not of elected members, but of delegates sent from the different states. This Government was much more popular in appearance than in reality, because, in the first place, the Reichstag had none of the control over the ministers which the English Parliament has won; and, in the second place, the Federal Council could veto all changes in the constitution, and in that Council Prussia had a preponderating influence. At the head of the Government stood the Chancellor, responsible only to the Emperor, and possessed of much more control over the ministers than belongs to the Prime Minister of England.

Bismarck seemed all powerful in Germany, but in the years which followed he encountered opposition which he could not overcome. This came from the Catholic Roman Catholics of Germany and arose partly out of the events in Rome in 1870-1871. During those years the

Pope's infallibility had been declared, and when the French garrison had been withdrawn from Rome the troops of the King of Italy had at once entered the city. These events had nothing directly to do with Germany, but the Roman Catholics of Germany—a numerous and influential body—were called upon to accept the decrees that had been passed in Rome. A considerable number refused. There was a secession from the Church, and a new religious body called "The Old Catholics" was established and supported by Bismarck and the state. A violent contest ensued between the Roman Catholics and the Government. Bismarck declared that he could not yield—he would never "go to Canossa," he said. But in the end the organization and tenacity of the Catholics proved too strong for him and he failed in carrying out his policy, almost for the only time in his life. .

Germany, as much as any other state in Europe, has felt the influence of the social movement. Socialism German owes, indeed, as much to Germany as to France. socialism. Marx's *Capital* (published in 1867) was for long almost the official statement of the economic views professed by socialists. Bismarck saw the importance of the movement and tried to meet it by introducing himself measures for the improvement of the conditions of the working classes. The system of government insurance against sickness and pensions for old age had its first beginnings in German soil. But these measures did not avail to retard the growth of Socialism in Germany. On the contrary, it has spread more rapidly there than elsewhere, and has assumed a definiteness of aim and strength of organization such as it possesses nowhere else in Europe. The numbers of socialists increased rapidly and continuously. They came to form the strongest party in the Reichstag, and they were outspoken in their opposition to the constitution, in their demand for reform, and especially in their demand that the administration should be controlled by the representatives of the people according to British methods. It was thought by many that the Socialist party would act as an efficient check on the military ambitions of the Prussian state ; but when war came in 1914 the socialists exercised no influence on its origin or its early course.

Bismarck's dismissal from office in 1888 marks a great dividing line in the history of Germany and of Europe. William II. came to the throne in that year, and his headstrong character quickly came into collision with the will of his great minister. Bismarck retired into private life, and cherished to the end animosity towards the new Emperor. Since that date the chief influence in Germany has been that of the Emperor, who declared, soon after his accession, "There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me." We need not follow the course of German history here. The organization of the army and of the state from the point of view of the army has been the chief aim of the German statesmen. They will be glanced at again when the coming of the Great War is considered. Germany gave much of value to the world—music, science, organization—but she has been the chief obstacle to all hope of the peaceful organization of Europe.

The history of Russia during these years is full of importance, but difficult to tell. She drew nearer to Western Europe in her political and social character. No political combination was possible without her participation. She fought often, but never with conspicuous success. She remained, however, essentially military in character and counted as a first-rate power in Europe.

We have spoken in a previous chapter of the Crimean War. There followed immediately afterwards social changes of first-rate importance. The Czar, Alexander II., carried out the emancipation of the serfs. It was a change which was overdue in Russia, for the institution not only had an evil intellectual and moral effect on serfs and masters alike, but was also prejudicial to the economic interests of the country. The Czar, Alexander II., deserves great credit for pushing through the measure whereby the serfs were converted into free peasant proprietors. But there was great disappointment felt as to the results. The nobles were angry and the peasants did not find that liberty had removed all evils from their lot. The educated classes were permeated by revolutionary ideas. Out of a combination of

influences, then, there rose the Nihilist movement, which demanded constitutional reform, though it trusted rather to violence than to constitutional means of action. **Nihilism.**

✓The Czar, Alexander II., was murdered; and his successor, Alexander III., carried out throughout his reign a policy of bitter repression. Nihilism ceased to be the all-important force that it had once seemed likely to become; but liberal and revolutionary ideas still fermented in the country.

In 1877 Russia became involved in another Balkan war. For Turkey was falling to pieces. Almost every decade saw a portion of the Turkish Empire establish its in- **The Russo-** dependence or pass into other hands. **Greece Turkish war.** ✓and Montenegro were wholly independent. Roumania and Serbia were practically free. In 1875 there were rebellions against the Turkish power, in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. The Turks, conscious of their weakness, struck with great cruelty at their opponents wherever they saw or imagined them. The Bulgarian massacres sent a thrill of horror through Europe. Russia alone intervened directly, and the Russo-Turkish war ensued (1877).

The Turks fought excellently at first; but then the corruption and disorganization of the Turkish Empire produced its inevitable effects. The Turks were beaten back on to Constantinople, and the Russians would probably have forced an entry into the city, if other powers had not interfered. Great Britain, under Disraeli, took the leading part. A fear of Russian aggression and a belief in the necessity of **Intervention** maintaining the integrity of Turkey were the chief **of Disraeli.** motives. ✓Russia consented to withdraw, and the settlement of the Balkans was submitted to a European Congress at Berlin. ✓Roumania and Serbia were declared sovereign and **Treaty of** independent States. Bulgaria was divided: the **Berlin.** northern half was practically independent; the southern half with large powers of self government, was still dependent on Turkey. But there is hardly any arrangement in European history where the hopes of statesmen have been so clearly falsified by events. ✓Bulgaria became an independent and united power in spite of the Treaty of Berlin. Turkey's decadence was not arrested. When the Great War came no power regretted more.

that Turkey was still in possession of Constantinople than the British, through whose efforts she had been maintained there



The Earl of Beaconsfield.'

(From a Photograph by J. Hughes, 1876.)

We have seen how Russia entered into alliance with France. In 1905 her weight in European affairs was much diminished by her sufferings in the war with Japan. She

had been pushing her power and her civilization, her roads and her railways across Siberia for a long time past. She had acquired Port Arthur in the Pacific; and her Russo-presence there made her a rival and perhaps a Japanese war-menace to Japan. In the war Japan proved her superiority at all points, and after a long siege captured Port Arthur.

We must note, too, even in this short sketch, that during this period the genius of the Russian people began to be better known in Western Europe, especially through Russian the works of the great novelists and musicians. music and He who has read the novels of Turguenief, literature. Tolstoi, and Dostoieffsky, or has heard the music of Tschai-kowsky, will never doubt that the Russian is capable of the greatest achievements in the domain of literature and art.

The Empire of Austria played an important but a subordinate part in the Triple Alliance. Her population and her geographical situation made her of the utmost Austrian use to Germany. Her chief interest lay in the history from Balkans. She wished to maintain and extend 1871 to 1914. her influence there, and thus she came into perpetual conflict with Russia. Germany was as eager as Austria for the extension of the power of the Alliance in the "Near East." A railway joined up Vienna with Constantinople; and an extension was projected from Skutari to Bagdad. Germany and Austria cherished the hope of opening by this means a great trade with the East, and of establishing not only a commercial power but also a political power in the dominions of Turkey. The project roused much jealousy, especially in The Bagdad Great Britain, but just before the outbreak of the Railway.

Great War all difficulties seemed to have been settled, and the Bagdad railway was being rapidly built. Of the political life of Austria little need be said. A wide franchise had been introduced for the Austrian Parliament. In Hungary (it will be remembered that the connection between Hungary and Austria was since 1866 very slight) the great question was the relation between the Hungarians (Magyars) and the other nationalities. The Magyars had fought most eagerly for their own independence, but were unwilling to concede the same privilege to others.

Austria accepted at last the alliance with Germany with some enthusiasm. But that was never the case with Italy. Italy.

she had been accustomed to call barbarian, was always irksome to her. In 1888 the Italians undertook an expedition against Abyssinia, which ended in a great disaster. Labour troubles often occurred, and were of exceptional bitterness. The Triple Alliance by no means brought to Italy, the dignity and the internal peace that had been anticipated. When the Great War came she welcomed the opportunity to withdraw from the German connection.

Of the other European Powers there is no space to speak. It was often remarked during these forty-three years that the smaller Powers were happier than the great ones ; that they had not such severe military burdens to bear, and that they were, in fact, more secure from war. But when Belgium was invaded by Germany, without even the allegation of an excuse, it became clear to all how precarious is the position of the small Powers in the present European system.

The history of Great Britain is full of interest during this same period. The Irish question assumed a more and more critical character. There were serious wars in, Egypt and in South Africa. The friction between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, which had been recurrent for half a century, came to a decision. In England, as elsewhere, the condition and the future of the working-classes were a constant preoccupation ; they gave rise to constant discussion, to some disorder, and to much legislation. The first three points will here be very briefly dealt with.

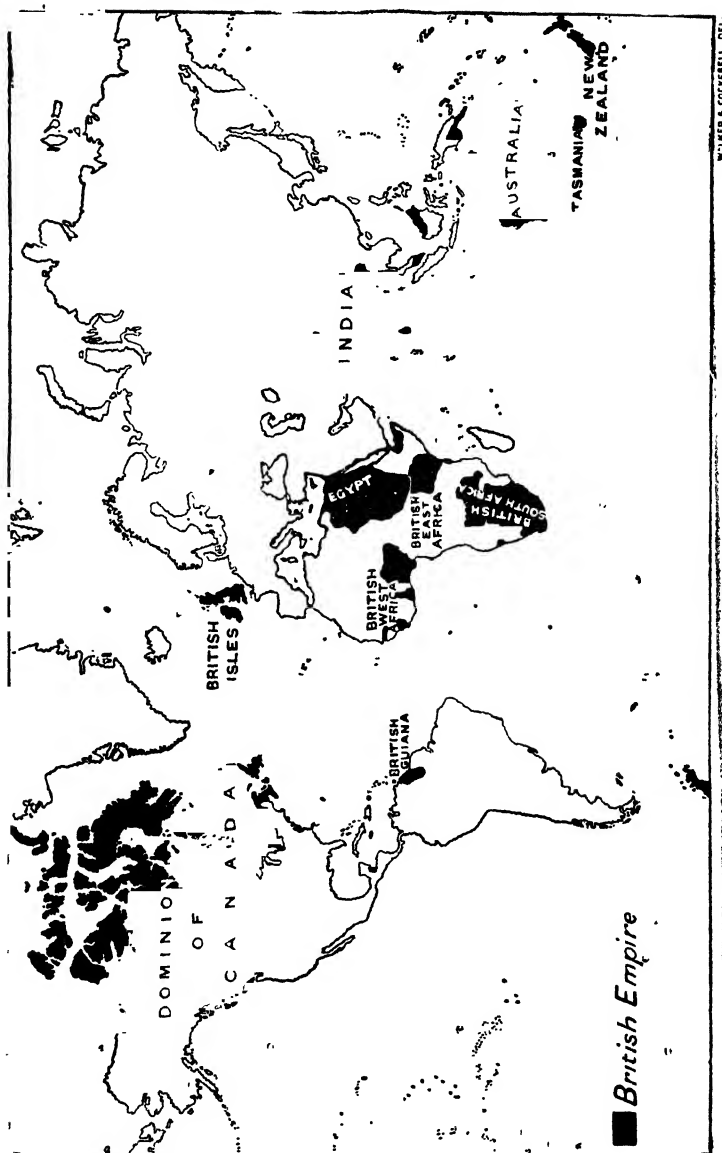
Gladstone devoted the latter part of his life to the Irish problem. During the administration of Disraeli (1874-1880), it held a secondary position in the public mind ; but when Gladstone formed his second administration in 1880 he brought forward again legislation dealing with Irish land. The new measures did not reconcile the Irish, and in 1886, after a general election, Gladstone took his great decision and introduced a Bill for establishing an Irish

Parliament with the control of all purely Irish affairs. This was what was known as Home Rule. It has held the central place in all political contests since then. A considerable section of Gladstone's party fell away from him; he was outvoted in the House of Commons, and later his Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. He still worked on with amazing hopefulness and energy; but when he died in 1898, at the age of eighty-eight, Home Rule was not passed. Until 1905 the Tory party was continuously in office, and they were pledged to resist Home Rule. When the Liberals came to power again in 1905 under the leadership first of Campbell Bannerman and then of Asquith, the question of Home Rule was taken up again. It was passed by the House of Commons, but re-
The first Home Rule Bill.

jected by the Lords. Thus the Irish question came to be intimately connected with the other great constitutional question of the hour, the relations of the Lords to the Commons. It was rendered the more acute because the Lords rejected in 1909 the Budget that had been prepared by Lloyd George. The Liberals in consequence devoted their efforts to a measure limiting the power of the House of Lords by making it impossible for them to delay legislation passed by the Commons for more than two years. If the same measure is passed by the Commons on a third occasion it passes without the consent of the Lords. By this means the Home Rule Bill was passed on the very eve of the Great War. The outbreak of hostilities made it impossible to bring the measure into operation, and it was suspended until the advent of peace.
The question of the House of Lords.

The Indian and Colonial dominions of the Empire became more and more important during this period. At one time it had been held that the Colonies were destined soon to fall away from the mother country, and to establish their complete independence. But different views now were accepted by statesmen and the public generally. It was the Conservative or Tory party which was most prominently and generally identified with views which recall in some respects those of Burke and Chatham when dealing with the revolted American colonies. Joseph
Passing of the Home Rule Bill.

Imperial development.
Chamberlain.



Chamberlain became especially prominent by advocating the claims of the colonies to a share in the councils of the state. Few will doubt that this was the beginning of a great movement; but as yet it has reached no decisive, and certainly no final, solution.

Out of the many troubles and wars arising in connection with the colonies and dependencies two are especially important: the Egyptian War of 1882, and the Boer War of 1899.

The Egyptian War arose out of the financial control exercised over Egypt by the French and English, as a result of loans made to the Khedive. Great Britain became responsible for the suppression of the nationalist war.

rising of Arabi Pacha, which was crushed by the battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882. As the result of this victory, though Egypt was not annexed, Great Britain became directly responsible for its government and the maintenance of order. Three years later our occupation of

Egypt led us into a war with the Soudan, the great district lying south of Egypt, in which the Madhi, a Mahomedan religious leader, had arisen. In the war Great Britain suffered the humiliation of the capture of Khartoum and the death of Gordon; but in 1897 the Soudan was conquered and definitely annexed to the Empire.

These were serious wars, but the Boer War was still more serious. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were inhabited by the Boers—men chiefly of Dutch but partly of French Huguenot extraction—Calvinists

in religion; farmers by occupation; men of great stubbornness of character and natural soldiers. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal led to a large influx of settlers chiefly of British nationality. Between these immigrants (usually known as outlanders) and the government of President Kruger there was much friction, which was increased by the way in which the problem was handled by the home government. War broke

out. At first the Boers gained great successes; but in the end they were fought down and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed to the Empire. What followed is

The Egyptian
The Soudan.
The Boer
Annexation
of the Trans-
vaal and of
the Orange
Free State.

more remarkable than the war. When Campbell-Bannerman came to office in 1905 one of the first acts of his government was to grant complete legislative independence to the recently conquered and annexed provinces. A little later the independence union of all the South African colonies was and unity of negotiated. There were many prophecies of South Africa. revolt and failure. But hardly any act in the history of the British Empire has been such a complete success. There are difficulties still in South Africa; but the country has given the Empire invaluable help during the course of the Great War.

The social legislation of the time is too tangled a subject to deal with here. It is enough to say that both Social parties came to regard this as one of their principal tasks. The two names most intimately associated with legislation designed to improve the condition of the people are those of Joseph Chamberlain and Lloyd George. The war has frozen for the moment those and all other humane aspirations. But there can be no question that with the coming of the Peace we shall see the tide set in that direction more strongly than before.

Vol. xii. of the *Cambridge Modern History*; J. H. Rose, *Development of European Nations since 1870*; Gooch's *History of our own Times* (since the fall of Bismarck); Hanotaux's *Modern France*; Bismarck's *Reflections and Recollections*; Alison Philips, *Modern Europe*.

CHAPTER XX

The Great War

THE forty-three years which passed between the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871 and the outbreak of The Great War in 1914 were full of political War. and social schemes and hopes, all of which assumed that peace would be the usual relation of states and war an interruption of rare occurrence. Had statesmen been able to foresee with certainty the coming of a war such as the recent one, hardly any feature of European life,

especially of English life, would have been the same. At no time, however, was peace felt to be really assured. One great sign of its uncertainty was the continuous increase of armies and navies, and of all preparations of war. Statesmen spoke, even before 1870, of the armies of Europe as imposing an intolerable strain upon the energies and finances of the states. The action of Germany in seizing Alsace and Lorraine was defended as giving Germany security from attack, and making such great military preparations unnecessary for the future. But after 1871 all nations proceeded to spend far more on their armies and navies than ever before. Each year the expenditure mounted up. Nearly everywhere on the Continent the whole manhood of the nation was called on for a considerable period of military training. The progress of science and invention caused constant changes in weapons and in shipbuilding; and the new methods always cost more than the old. Many held that even without a war the States of Europe were faced with bankruptcy.

There were many proposals to avoid the catastrophe of war. We have seen how at the suggestion of the Czar a conference was called at the Hague in the hope of reducing armaments and finding some means of ensuring the avoidance of war. A great number of people, some isolated, some acting in societies and groups, were bending their thoughts and energies in the same direction. But though public opinion seemed to be influenced, nothing practical was done when the outbreak of war came in July 1914.

The causes of this terrible convulsion will probably never cease to be discussed. The ambitions of Germany, of Austria, and of Russia kept Europe in unrest. Assuredly no state in Europe was perfect; all were suspicious, ambitious, and ready to take offence. Germany had contributed much to civilization—to music far more than any other country. There were sections—perhaps large sections of her population—peace-loving and ready to co-operate with the other states of Europe. But the governing classes of Germany were conspicuous for their glorification of war, and for their refusal to accept the principle of arbitration. They were filled with very natural pride at the immense success which had attended their arms in the

last two wars; and many held that the German race possessed a natural superiority over all others. Their commerce and their industry had of late rapidly increased, and they had colonial possessions capable of becoming sources of great wealth. But many Germans held that Germany had not a sufficiently favourable "place in the sun," and that much more was wanted. In close union with Austria, Germany hoped—and there was nothing wrong in her aims—to control Turkey, to open a railway from Vienna to Constantinople, and from the other side of the straits to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and to find in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining lands what Great Britain had found in India.

Relations between France and Germany had never been amicable since the end of the Franco-German war. In 1906 and 1911 there had been serious tension between them about Morocco, whose weak and disorderly condition invited interference. France in 1911 was supported by Great Britain, and Germany received a check; it was France that gained influence in Morocco.

The cause of the Great War is to be found primarily in the character and ambition of the German Government, and secondarily in the disorganized condition of Europe, which had no machinery for settling a dispute or for punishing an aggressor. But the actual outbreak of hostilities came in the Balkan peninsula. There had been savage fighting there in 1913, which was divided into two distinct wars. In the first Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia attacked and defeated Turkey. The war seemed at an end, and many hoped that the peace of the Balkans—which had so often been in confusion and war for the last four centuries—would be at last secured by some form of federal government. But hardly had the first war ended when another broke out. Bulgaria had played an important and successful part in the first war. She seems to have thought that she had now a claim to dominate the whole peninsula. We do not yet know to what extent her ambitions were supported or prompted by Germany. Her claims led to a second war, in which she found herself at war with Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, and with Rumania as well. She was crushed quickly, and

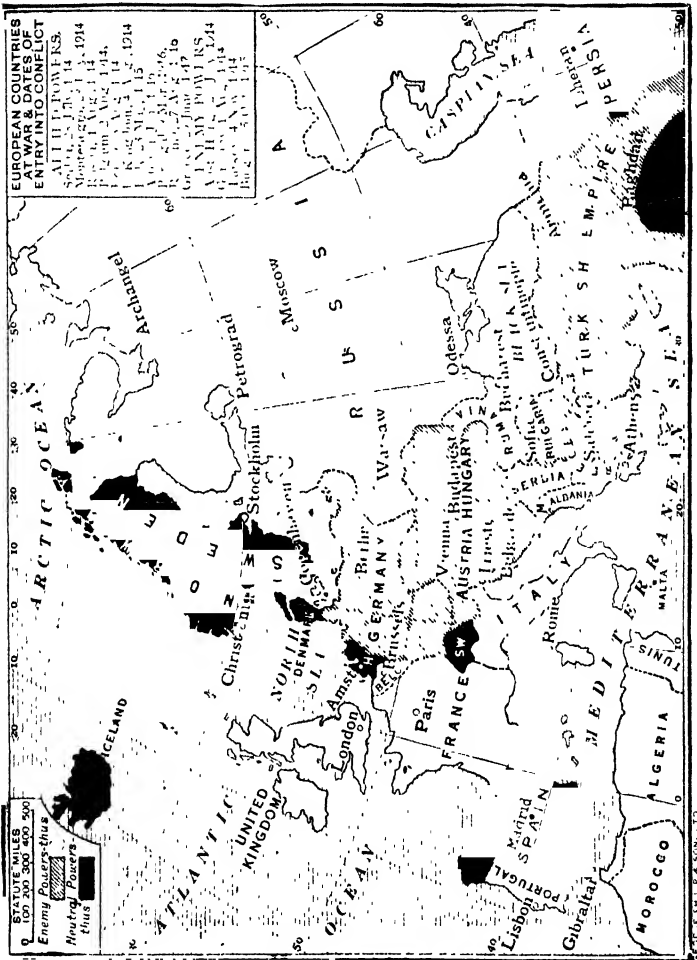
had to be contented with much less territory than had seemed at one time within her grasp. Neither Germany nor Austria had interfered in all this fighting ; but the relations between Serbia and Austria were strained. For Serbia had keen sympathy for the kindred race within the limits of the Austrian Empire ; and Austria often suspected the Serbians of fomenting conspiracy against her. On June 28 the heir to the Austrian throne was murdered at Serajevo in Bosnia. Europe was shocked at the crime, but did not at first fear international trouble, still less a general war. But Austria declared that the assassins were the accomplices of the Serbian Government, and demanded redress from Serbia in an ultimatum of so violent a character that it was itself almost an act of war. Serbia yielded nearly all of what was demanded of her ; but her refusal to comply with the rest led to an immediate attack upon Belgrade.

Russia interfered to protect Serbia. Russian interests were so great in the Balkans that her statesmen could not allow Austria to overrun Serbia without protest. Austria was supported by Germany, and Russia by France. War between these states was certain. Then Germany took the step which inevitably turned a war, which would in any case have been widespread and terrible, into a struggle that came to concern the large majority of the states of the world. For Germany invaded Belgium. Belgium had not the most distant connection with the quarrel of Austria and Serbia. She desired only to remain neutral, and her neutrality had been guaranteed by the great states of Europe, including France, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and Austria. The eastern frontier of France was protected by great fortifications. The easiest way for Germany to attack France was by passing through Belgium. So Germany called on the Belgian government to allow her to pass through. Belgium, conscious of the immense danger that she was facing, and tempted, on the other hand by high rewards for her acquiescence, nevertheless, with a heroism which is among the great things of history, refused. The German armies poured on to her territory and destroyed life and property with a calculated cruelty which first showed Europe what kind of a war was about to be waged. The invasion of

Belgium at once brought Great Britain into the war on the side of Belgium and France. Our relations with France were close; we were not only bound to Belgium by a promise to defend her territory in case of attack, but had always felt that the independence of Belgium was of the utmost importance for our own security.

The war that thus broke out assumed an unexampled magnitude. The powers that took part were at first: Germany and Austria on the one side, and on the other France, Russia, Great Britain, Serbia, Montenegro, and Belgium. But the number of combatants went on growing. Turkey and Bulgaria had long been in close relations with Germany and Austria, and soon joined them in the war. Their adhesion established a long line of hostile powers (when the resistance of Serbia had been crushed) stretching from Hamburg to Bagdad, dividing Russia from her European allies, and threatening Egypt and India. Turkey and Bulgaria were the only powers that joined Germany and Austria: but the greater part of the nations of the world came in on the side of the allies. Japan and China joined in order to attack the German possessions in the East. Portugal maintained her old alliance with Great Britain. Italy from the first refused to join with the other members of the Triple Alliance on the ground that the war was aggressive on the part of Germany, and that she was only bound to give assistance in a defensive war. After long negotiations she declared war on Austria in May, 1915. Greece and Roumania ultimately came in upon the same side. The most important adhesion of all was that of the United States of America, who came in in April, 1917, driven from their neutrality by the sinking of the great British steamer *Lusitania* with citizens of the United States on board, and by the subsequent attack of German submarines on American commercial and passenger steamers. The example of the United States was followed by the majority of the states of South America. Before the end of the war the states that ranked as combatants on the side of the allies had reached twenty-four: and the figure does not take account of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India, which had from the first fought as integral

parts of the British Empire. By the end the war had indeed come to embrace the whole world: more than five-sixths of



the inhabitants of the world were technically at war. The few states that still remained neutral were profoundly and painfully influenced by the course of hostilities. Hardly a

human being on the planet but found his condition affected by the war whose flames were lit by the bomb-throwing at Serajevo. Before we proceed to give an outline of this great struggle, we will indicate some of its characteristics.

Though no war can be found in history to compare with this in magnitude and destructiveness, it was akin in character to the wars that were fought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries against the Austro-Spanish power; in the seventeenth and eighteenth against the power of Louis XIV., and in the early part of the nineteenth century against the personal power of Napoleon. It was **The Balance essentially a war to maintain what used to be of Power.** called the Balance of Power—a war fought to defend the equilibrium of Europe against a force or group of forces which tended to establish a dictatorship. The closest analogy is to be found in the wars of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. Then France held an unquestioned military superiority in Europe; she boasted of a culture higher than that of any other country, and her claims were often conceded even by her enemies; but her policy brought into the field against her—especially after she claimed the Spanish Crown for a French prince—the civilized powers of the world as it then was. The world has in one sense grown much larger since 1713, in another it has grown smaller. European civilization has spread over the surface of the globe, while the immense improvement in the means of communication has made the most distant lands interested in the affairs of Europe. Between 1672 and 1713 all the chief European States fought to re-establish the Balance of Power; in 1914, often on the same battle-ground, not only Europeans, but Japanese, Australasians, Africans, Indians, and Americans fought for much the same end.

It was not only a war of unexampled magnitude but of unsurpassed ferocity. All the efforts of the past to humanize **The ferocity** the methods of war and to place some restraint of the war. on the instruments employed, proved unavailing. Not only were novel and exceedingly cruel means of warfare employed—such as gas and liquid fire—but the passions engendered by the struggle were of a peculiar intensity. In the

great wars, to which this last has been compared, there was often respect and even admiration felt by the combatants for one another. Especially Englishmen and Frenchmen had felt a high regard for certain qualities in their opponents even during the fiercest conflicts. But between 1914 and 1919 there was a propaganda of hatred on both sides. Since the time of the Reformation European civilization had never been so cruelly torn asunder.

The war, further, was distinguished beyond all others in history by the application to the struggle of all the results of scientific discovery and invention. It was pre-eminently the war of the chemist and the engineer. In all wars in history invention has played an important and often a decisive part. The Dorian spear, the Roman sword, the mounted archers of Belisarius, the Greek fire of the Eastern Empire, the development of armour, the invention of gunpowder, the iron ramrods of Frederick the Great, changes in shipbuilding and equipment—all these have influenced and controlled important chapters of history. But the nineteenth century had been pre-eminent for its scientific discoveries; and science now gave into the hands of the soldiers weapons of enormous power for the destruction of life and property. Man had learnt to navigate beneath the sea, and quite recently he had constructed machines with which he flew with a rapidity that excelled the flight of birds. Chemists and engineers had constructed guns and explosives of terrible destructiveness. The internal combustion engine had been a chief factor in many of these inventions, and it was this engine which drove the armoured motor cars—the so-called tanks—which played a great part in the concluding stages of the struggle. So the war was fought in arenas unknown to earlier ages: not only on the surface of the land and the sea, but also beneath the waves and in the air. It was due to scientific invention also (the preservation of food and the many new methods of transport and of communication) that the enormous armies could be brought into contact with one another and maintained there. An inevitable result of all this was loss of life and infliction of wounds beyond all previous record. The statistics of the war have not yet been

fully worked out. But the number of killed cannot be less than eight millions, and the number of wounded was about four times that amount. In the Franco-German War of 1870-71 the Germans are said to have lost only 28,000, the French about 140,000.

The war was a conflict of political principles as well as of ambitions. The central powers were all more or less autocratic in character. Germany repudiated definitely both the theory and the practice of every form of democracy or government by consent. On the side of the allies nearly all the powers practised some sort of liberal government. Russia was indeed a great exception, but Russian autocracy was overthrown before the end of the war. Hence one important result of the war has been the advancement of democratic ideas. War, which requires concentration and secrecy of effort, is usually unfavourable to political freedom; but this war saw the spread of political freedom in all directions. In Great Britain, by the Bill of 1918, the vote was given to women over thirty. In Russia there came, as we have said, the overthrow of the old rule. In Germany, even before defeat had brought revolution, there were offers of fairer franchises and of more popular control. The Poles were promised their liberties from the first. The nations which were included in the Austrian Empire have gained as a result of it full independence. In Ireland there was a wild burst of rebellion aiming at an independent republic, the final result of which it is as yet impossible to determine. In all this the Great War has been in direct contrast with the struggle against Napoleon, with which it has often been compared. That resulted in a marked restriction of self-government; the recent war in a great increase of it.

A strange feature of the war has been that there have been no non-combatants. How great is the contrast in this respect between this war and the earlier great wars of Europe, even the wars against Napoleon I. Then the armies were small, and they stood apart from the ordinary peaceful life of the state. Wars were fought with comparatively little disturbance of the ordinary social and economic life. But now everywhere the whole

active manhood was called to arms—even in Great Britain and the United States. It seemed at first that agriculture and industry and the normal life of the state would collapse owing to the great strain. Every state proceeded to organize itself with a view to the war and the war only. The energies of women—mental and physical—were called on to an unprecedented extent, and without their services the war could not have been carried on. Towards the end there was a deficiency of food in nearly all countries, and the self-restraint of the ordinary men and women became an important factor in the struggle. Hence the war has caused a social and economic upheaval without parallel in modern history.

A vast literature has already begun to grow up round the war, and this will no doubt be rapidly and immensely increased. Many important points, both with regard to its **The decisive** origin and its course, are matters of keen con- factors. troversy. There is difference of opinion among the nations as to the factors that chiefly contributed to the final victory of the allies. The military organization of Germany did not disappoint her rulers. It worked with amazing efficiency, and when the prospect of an early victory disappeared in the autumn of 1914 the German troops showed obedience, discipline, and endurance, which often wrecked the sanguine hopes of their enemies. In the last months of the war a different spirit showed itself: it is difficult to say how far it was the consequence and how far the cause of defeat. If the German armies fulfilled expectations the French armies far surpassed them. The armies of the French Revolution and Napoleon showed no higher military qualities than the troops that fought the battles of Verdun, and with a tenacity, which some had thought foreign to their nature, stemmed in their trenches for years the assaults of the German forces. Opinions differ and will differ as to the contribution made to the final victory by the distant expeditions—the “side shows” as they were called, and the fighting in the East generally. The contributions of the different nations—Russians, Italians, Serbians, Roumanians—will be variously estimated. But two factors stand out as of prime importance in all estimates of the war. First, the power of the British fleet was the one

condition for the despatch of supplies and reinforcements to the main arena of the war : had it failed the British Isles **Sea power** must have been reduced to surrender by starvation. Next, in the last stage of the war, the **and the** support of the United States of America was of **United States.** decisive importance in various ways. The troops of America fought with brilliant success ; but even more important probably was the help given in munitions and food, the possibility through American support of throwing all the combatant forces of the other nations into the front line, the immense encouragement which was derived from the knowledge that the inexhaustible resources of the United States were on the side of the allies.

If, before entering on a summary of the events of the war, we survey its whole course, it seems to fall easily into three main **Triple division** acts (with an indefinite number of subordinate **of the war.** scenes). First, there is the great German attack of 1914, which seemed as though it might, as in 1866 and 1870, secure victory at a blow. The battle of the Marne ended that hope and gave the other nations, especially Great Britain, time to organize for the further struggle. Secondly, there was the long, uninterrupted, remorseless struggle of more than three years (from September, 1914, to March, 1918), during which victory seemed to flatter first one side and then the other : perhaps the most terrible period that the human race has had to endure. Thirdly, came the wonderful events of 1918. Hitherto men had talked of the deadlock, of the stalemate, of the war. Now the hour of decision came on apace. First, in the spring there was a great German attack which won a success that to many seemed to promise a final victory. Then the tide surged back. The allies gained a complete triumph in every theatre of the war. Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, Germany, each in turn was overwhelmed, and had to accept the terms that the victors imposed.

At the outbreak of war the Liberal government of Mr. Asquith was in power in Great Britain, with Mr. Lloyd George at the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Grey as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In France M. Poincaré was President, and for some time the ministries were as short-lived as they had

usually been since 1871. In Germany Bethmann-Hollweg was Chancellor, and remained so during a great part of the war. Von Moltke was in supreme command of the German armies; Joffre was at the head of those of France; Sir John French commanded the British expeditionary force.

The Germans had decided to neglect the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, to commit what their Chancellor admitted to be a wrong in the hope of "hewing" **The invasion** their way through to Paris. The first blow fell, **of Belgium.** accordingly, upon Belgium, and the splendid resistance made by her armies, though it delayed the German advance for only a few days, was of immense and perhaps decisive importance for the whole campaign. The forts of Liège offered a desperate resistance until they were overwhelmed by the heavy guns that were brought against them. It had been hoped that Namur would have offered equal difficulties to the German advance, but it fell quickly, and the German armies passed on to French soil and fell on the French and British forces which had advanced with all possible speed to the northern frontier. At first it seemed that nothing could withstand the German attack. The French were defeated at Charleroi; **Paris in** the British had to retreat from Mons. The fall **danger.** of Paris was anticipated, and the French Government was removed to Bordeaux, so that the fall of the capital might not entail the overthrow of the national cause as it had done in 1871. The Germans continued to advance and occupied Lille and Arras and Reims and Amiens. German Uhlans penetrated to within twelve miles of Paris. Their advance was more rapid than in 1870, and German opinion naturally anticipated an easy triumph. Then came the battle of the Marne on which discussion is still **Battle of** active. On the side of France and Great Britain **the Marne,** **September 6,** there was no notion of accepting defeat as final. **1914.**

All available troops were brought up. The movements of the German commander, von Kluck, gave the allies the opportunity for a counter-blow. They took splendid advantage of it, and the German forces were pushed back from the Marne to the Aisne, and a large stretch of territory and many famous towns passed again into French hands. It

was hoped that the Germans would be pushed beyond the Aisne and that the war would end rapidly. That hope proved delusive. The Germans entrenched themselves, and the allies adopted the same policy. Soon lines of trenches stretched from the sea near Ostend to the Swiss frontier, and in them the Trench war- greatest forces ever gathered together faced one fare.

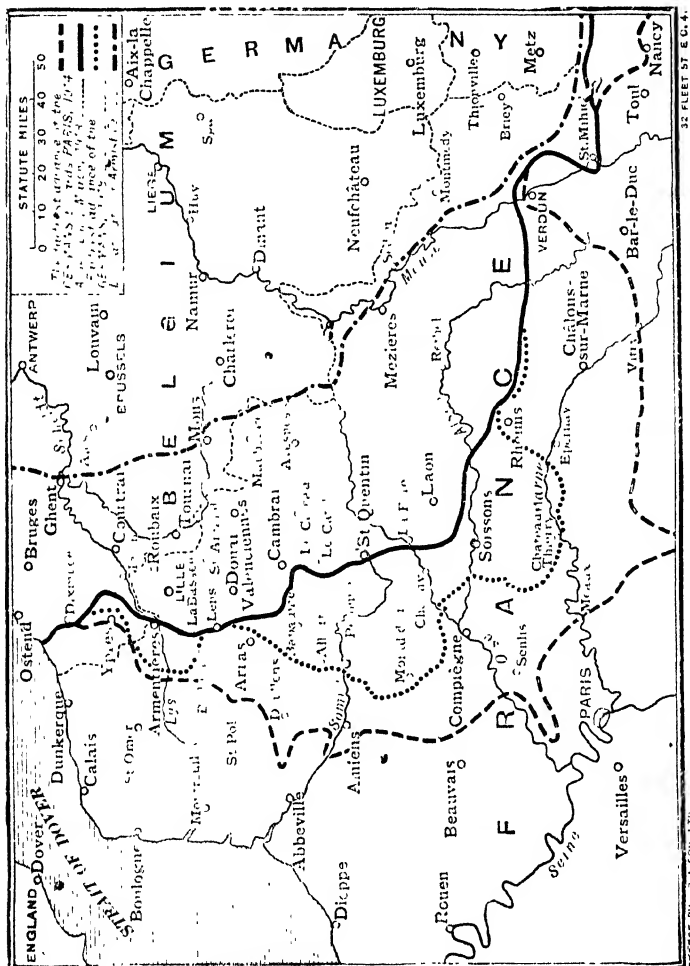
another, often at a distance of a few score of yards, for more than three years, enduring in the mud and ice of the trenches hardships which seemed beyond human endurance. The German attack had failed. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, declared that the Germans were beaten, though it might take them years to find it out. Behind the defence of the trenches Lord Kitchener organized for Great Britain an army such as she had never dreamed of, and the colonial dominions—Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as India—sent over forces, important through their numbers, but far more through the high military qualities which they displayed.

While the allies thus recovered hope, and established themselves in a strong position for future efforts, the balance of success on the Eastern front lay decidedly with Germany. The Russians had invaded in the north, and at first gained great successes in East Prussia, but on August 26 they were Hindenburg's attacked at Tannenberg by General Hindenburg victories.

and were defeated with immense loss. Further south the Russians were more successful against the Austrians. They invaded Galicia and took Lemberg. Already there was indication of the instability of the Eastern frontier which was to characterize the war. The Russians showed great courage and skill, and won great victories which quickly melted away. Lack of organization and political unrest played as important a part as strictly military causes.

At sea much harm was done to the commerce of the allies by the action of German raiders (especially the *Emden*). For The war at a time the destruction of a small British squadron sea. off the coast of Chile by the German Admiral von Spee (November 1, 1914), seemed to show that the German navy was prepared to challenge the British; but on

December 8 von Spee was caught at the Falkland Islands by Admiral Sturdee, and his squadron was destroyed. The supremacy of the British and allied fleets had meanwhile swept



the commerce of the Germans and their allies off the seas, and the blockade began to press hard upon them.

Now began more than three years of continuous and intense fighting on the Western front, during which determined efforts were made to break through on both sides ; but though the line sagged and swayed, and the general advantage lay with the allies, nothing that could be called a decisive result was reached.

The chief centres of the struggle were (1) Ypres, which was held by the British, and defended Dunkirk, Calais, and the Channel ; (2) Arras and Cambrai, which was also, later on, held by British and Dominion troops ; (3) Reims, and (4) Verdun. Both Reims and Verdun were in the hands of the French. The fighting all along the line was continuous to an extent unexampled in history, but the following incidents may be noted.

Three battles of Ypres are distinguished. The first was from October 21 to November 17, 1914, when the German force made a desperate effort to break through, and at times seemed to come near to success. In the end the allied positions were maintained with little change all along the northern line. The second battle of Ypres began in April, 1915, and was again a German attack. Poison gas was employed by the German armies for the first time in the war. The allied line was driven in at certain points, but no success of much value was gained by the Germans. The third battle of Ypres covered the month of August and most of the autumn of 1917. The allies were now the aggressors. Operations were much interfered with by bad weather, but considerable advance was made, and the Paschendaele ridge was occupied. The armoured motor cars (known as tanks) had been introduced in September, 1916, and played an important part in all subsequent engagements. But important as the gains were that had been made in front of Ypres, Sir Douglas Haig, who had succeeded Sir John French as commander-in-chief, declared subsequently that the struggle had rather exhausted than strengthened the British army.

We must pass over many other great battles and concentrate attention on the fighting round Verdun. It was a position of very great strategic importance, and was attacked

by the German armies under the command of the Crown Prince again and again with the utmost violence. Perhaps Verdun, rather than any other place, saw war at its cruellest and most horrible, and also courage, round devotion, discipline and endurance at their Verduen. extremest development. The name of General Pétain is specially associated with the victorious defence of Verduen.



Lord Haig.
(Photo: Bassano.)

Three separate "battles" of Verdun are reckoned in 1916 (but it must be remembered that "battle" changed its meaning during this war, and was often used for operations lasting over many weeks). The Germans gained many important successes; it seemed at times as if the city must fall. But nothing could break the stubborn tenacity of the French, and when the German attack had exhausted itself they carried out counter offensives that are among the most brilliant things done in this

war or in any other war. There was again heavy fighting round the city in August, 1917, and again the French gained remarkable successes, which took from the Germans their last hope of breaking through at this point.

The operations round Ypres and Verdun are given as characteristic of the fighting on the Western front; others nearly as important are omitted. We can find no room even for the series of furious combats which are known as "the battle of the Somme." When 1915 ended, this west front still held in much the same position as after the battle of the Marne in 1914. The balance of success inclined to the allies, but the end was not in sight.

During the same period the Russian front showed an alternation of brilliant success and depressing failure, but the Russian failure predominated and was permanent. Soon

political events in Russia gave a sinister commentary on these strange oscillations. The Germans attacked in midsummer, 1915, under Mackensen, and gained overwhelming victories. Warsaw was taken, and the Russian armies with difficulty escaped capture.

In 1916 again there were high hopes of a huge success for the allies in the East. Brusiloff commanded the Russian troops in an attack on Galicia and Austria. He gained successes so rapid and complete that the war had hardly shown any to equal them. The Bukovina was captured, and the prisoners numbered in all 200,000. Roumania joined the

allies under the influence of these events, and it seemed that her adhesion would be decisive.

But the war provided no more bitter disappointment than what followed. Mackensen swept over Roumania and took Bucharest. Brusiloff's laurels withered as rapidly as they had been plucked. Then in the spring of 1917 came news from Russia which suggested an explanation for many of the strange happenings in the East. It was suddenly announced

that the Czar had abdicated. Russia was thrown into a whirlpool of revolution. The comparison with the French Revolution, which has often been

suggested, is only partially true. There is this wide difference among others. The French Revolutionaries were ardent

nationalists, and carried on the war with greater energy than the monarchy which they displaced. But, after another short but successful offensive under Brusiloff, the Russian movement turned towards peace. The country had probably suffered more, in direct losses and starvation, than any country in Europe, though all had suffered terribly. Power came into the hands of the Bolsheviks, and their leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. They were disciples of Karl Marx, the German socialist, and followed to some extent the example of the Paris communists of 1871. They held that patriotism and nationality were exhausted ideas; they repudiated the idea of an equal democracy, and they aimed at the dictatorship of the poorest classes (the proletariat), which should unite with the same classes in all other countries. The war had no meaning for them. Rather than continue it they accepted humiliating conditions of peace at Brest Litovsk, in December, 1917. The Germans were free to concentrate all their forces on the west front, with what result we shall soon see.

Italy had joined the allies in May, 1915. Her adhesion was particularly welcome, coming as it did at a time when the outlook was far from bright. She soon took the offensive against Austria in the Italian Alps, where the fighting went on at great altitudes and often amidst perpetual snow. In August, 1916, she achieved a great victory by capturing Gorizia, and it was hoped that more and perhaps decisive victories were to come. But 1917 had another story to tell. An Austrian attack broke through the Italian line and drove back one army in great confusion. The Italian forces had to be withdrawn as far as the Piave, and a large stretch of Italian territory was abandoned to the enemy. French and British troops were despatched to the help of the Italians. The situation was serious, but the new lines were firmly held, and proved the basis for a great advance next year.

It is necessary now to turn to the subsidiary phases of the war. We may leave out of account the long series of operations whereby the German colonies were all of them brought within the power of the allies. Many of these operations

were interesting and skilful ; but victory in all was an inevitable deduction from the maritime supremacy of the allied fleets. It is more important to look at the war against Turkey. Her territories separated the allies from Russia, and without the help of Turkey, the war would have ended much sooner. If the passage of the Dardanelles could be forced, munitions and help of various kinds could be brought to the Russians. The first effort was made with the fleet alone in February, 1915. On its failure an attack on the Gallipoli peninsula was made by a combined naval and land force. What followed is one of the most romantic and heroic chapters of the war. But we can only say that the attack, in which the troops from Australia and New Zealand played a leading part, was pressed in the face of terrifying difficulties with great dash and tenacity. Victory came near, but was not quite reached. The losses and the sufferings were very great. It was decided to abandon the enterprise, and in December, 1915, the troops were skilfully withdrawn. But the troubles of Turkey were by no means over. In February, 1916, the Russians, under the Archduke Nicholas, carried out a wonderful expedition across the Caucasus into Armenia. One great Turkish fortress after the other fell—Erzeroum, Trebizond, and Erzingan. The highest hopes seemed justified by the situation. Constantinople even might fall to these enterprising Russian forces. Then a blight fell on this expedition as on all things Russian. Fate was not preparing the final blow against Turkey from that quarter, nor from Russian hands.

British (chiefly Indian) troops struck at the Turks in Mesopotamia in 1915. General Townshend advanced up the Tigris, took Kut-el-Amara, and pushed on towards Mesopotamia. Bagdad. Again a great and important victory seemed assured. But the Turks, under German direction, rallied, drove the British back and besieged General Townshend and his forces in Kut, which was forced to surrender in April, 1916. But in 1917, the British-Indian force struck again, with more careful preparation, under, General Maude.

Kut was retaken, and in March, 1917, Bagdad was occupied. This was a most serious blow to the prestige of Turkey in the East, and there was more to follow. An early Turkish attack on Egypt had been repulsed with- ^{Capture of} Bagdad. out much difficulty. In 1916, an expedition was despatched across the Sinaitic peninsula into Palestine. In January, 1917, Gaza was attacked, but the attack was beaten off, and when revived three months later had no better success. A little later General Allenby took charge of the expedition and, under his direction, it soon gained a series of amazing victories. In October Beersheba was captured. He then ^{The British} advanced on to Jerusalem which fell into his ^{in Jerusalem.} hands without fighting on December 11. Up to the end of 1917 it was only in the East—at Bagdad and Jerusalem—that any success, which could be called decisive, had attended the British arms.

This sketch omits altogether great and important chapters of the war. But to omit the naval war would be to omit the foundation of the subsequent triumph of ^{The naval} the allies. It was inevitable that the Germans ^{war.} should try by all means in their power to break or to elude the strangling grasp which the allied navy maintained upon them. They trusted chiefly at first to the use of submarines to blockade Great Britain as effectually as she blockaded Germany. Great loss was inflicted on the commerce of England, and fighting vessels, as well as traders, were frequent victims. On May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* with 2000 persons on board was sunk off the Irish coast, and more than a thousand lost their lives. Zeppelins—as the great air-vessels were called, after their inventor—were despatched from time to time to London and England. They did much damage, and killed many scores of people. But all this brought no relief to Germany, and in 1916 the German fleet, which had hitherto played a rather inglorious part in the harbours or ^{The battle of} close to the coasts, sallied out to try for a victory, Jutland. which might have meant the winning of the war. It met the advance guard of the British fleet, under Admiral Beatty, and fought the Battle of Jutland. The British suffered severely, though they probably inflicted an equal amount of

damage. When Admiral Jellicoe, with the main fleet, arrived the German ships escaped to their quarters. The first announcement of the British losses made men think that the fleet had suffered a serious check, but it was soon apparent that the German fleet was cooped up as tightly as ever, and it made no further attempt to break out. Yet the Germans did not



Lord Beatty.

(Photo: Russell.)

abandon all hope of breaking the naval power of Great Britain and the allies. Their naval authorities saw in the submarine a weapon which, if used with due preparation and without regard to humanity and international law, could starve Great Britain and prevent the passage of American troops. The new blow seemed at one time as if it might do what had been hoped of it. Vast damage was done. In one week of

April, 1917, fifty-eight important British vessels were destroyed. Food became scarce and had to be rationed. But invention successfully met this new danger, and the allied supremacy upon the seas had rather increased than diminished when the year 1917 came to an end.

The year 1918 found all the European combatants weary, and exhausted in men and in money, by a war that had lasted far beyond the limits that most people had thought possible at the beginning. It was generally believed in 1918 that the war could not last another year, but no one anticipated the rapidity or the decisiveness of the catastrophe that was impending. The word "dramatic" had often been applied to the war during its course, but its general character since the opening months was rather a long continuous terrible grinding of one enormous force against another; and there was no sign, to the ordinary observer, that the struggle was going to change in character. But the year 1918 saw a decision reached on every arena of the war, and everywhere in favour of the allies.

Before the final victory came a period of intense anxiety. It was generally believed that Germany would throw upon the Western front the troops that had been set at liberty by the collapse of Russia. On March 21 the expected German attack came on a wide front in the neighbourhood of Saint Quentin. The British Fifth Army bore the brunt of the attack. It was outnumbered and the German attack, driven home with the greatest determination, broke the British line and drove the British army back over a wide area. What had been gained by the struggle of four months was now lost in a single day. The Germans struck again and again, and it was not until July that the force of their offensive had completely spent itself. On July 15 they crossed the Marne. It seemed to many that Paris and the channel ports were in as great danger as in August, 1914.

It was Berlin that was in danger, not Paris. The French Republic stood firm; the German Empire was on the eve of dissolution. There is hardly to be found in history so sudden and complete a change of fortune in the life of a great state.

The allies had already taken their measures. Unity of command had been secured by giving Marshal Foch supreme command over all the allied armies. Reinforcements had been hurried over from England. The American force on French soil had now passed the million, and was ready for effective action. Further, in a way that has many parallels during the Great War, the Germans had exhausted themselves by their great success, which had been won at enormous cost: they were actually weaker than they had been before the great advance had taken place.

Marshal Foch's counter-stroke came on July 18, on the Marne, and was carried out at first chiefly by French and American troops. The Germans were driven back and on the side of the allies men breathed more freely in the assurance that the German advance was held up. But this was no mere check to German hopes: it was the beginning of the ruin of the German military power, and the end was not far off. Marshal Foch struck again and again on a system that he had long and carefully elaborated. The British troops played the chief part in the remaining operations, though the French, in spite of weariness and exhaustion, fought with wonderful effectiveness, and the Americans gained a brilliant success at St. Mihiel. The British attack came near Amiens on August 8—a day declared by Ludendorff, the head of the German Staff, to be "the black day" in the history of the German army. One German defeat followed another. The Germans were driven back to the fortified line, from which they had sallied on March 21. But that hardly retarded the advance of the British. Much helped by air-planes and by "tanks," they broke through the defences. The Germans withdrew from the Belgian coast to which they had clung so tenaciously since 1914. The Belgian army, with King Albert at its head, forced its way into Ostend, Bruges, and Ghent. And, while the Germans were being defeated, their allies were suffering even more heavily. We must turn to them before we chronicle the Armistice and the Peace.

Even before Foch's great counter-stroke on July 18, the Italians had inflicted a serious check upon the Austrians. On June 15 the Austrians attempted a great Italian offensive, but it was met and heavily defeated by victories. the Italians who made considerable progress. In October, when the tide of battle was running strongly in favour of Marshal Foch, the Italians struck again with overwhelming



Marshal Foch.

(Photo : Melcy.)

success. The Austrian army was broken up, and their government was reduced to the necessity of asking for an armistice.

Bulgaria had been the first power actually to declare itself beaten. The allied army, consisting of Serbians, French, British and Greeks, had been held at bay for a Collapse of long time ; but in September the Serbians pierced Bulgaria. the line opposed to them, and it turned out.that the Bulgarians

were incapable of further resistance. They surrendered on September 29.

Equally complete was the ruin that had fallen on Turkey. In September, General Allenby carried out a highly successful operation to the north of Palestine. Cavalry played a very important part in this, and the Turks were defeated and surrounded. Damascus was taken on September 30; Aleppo on October 26; Turkey surrendered on October 31.

At sea there was nothing to encourage the German leaders. The fleet attempted no further operations. The submarines still sank many ships, but there was no longer the least probability that they would reduce England by starvation. In April and in May, the harbours of Zeebrügge and Ostend were blocked by sinking heavily-laden vessels in them. This brilliant feat almost completely destroyed the use of those places as bases for submarine warfare.

The Zeppelins had proved a failure and were no longer sent to England. The raids of air-planes were continued, but could have no effect on the result of the war.

The Germans had to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs. They asked for an armistice, and declared themselves ready to accept the "fourteen points" which had been laid down by the American President, Woodrow Wilson, as the basis of peace. These included (besides the restoration of conquered or invaded territories, and of Alsace and Lorraine which had been taken from France in 1871) the promise of an independent Poland, the reduction of armaments, equal trading rights among peaceful nations, the freedom of the seas; and, lastly, and above all, the establishment of a League of Nations. It was on November 11, that at last the guns were silent and slaughter ceased. But this by no means brought peace to Germany. It had always been foretold, even by the Germans themselves, that a German defeat would bring with it political revolution. And revolution came on a huge scale. Germany was the one state where monarchy of the old kind subsisted, and where the doctrine of the divine rights of kings could be upheld (though in a somewhat modified form). Moreover the royal

houses of Germany were related to all the royal families of Europe. Yet the imperial house and all the subordinate royalties fell in the earthquake shock. The Kaiser, Wilhelm II., had abdicated on November 9. The royal houses of Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg were overthrown about the same time. A wave of democracy passed over the land. Social revolution showed itself at the same time. The extremists were beaten down; but everywhere socialist governments were established.

The Peace Conference was called in Paris and representatives of all the allies met under the presidency of Clémenceau, the French Prime Minister, who had taken office in November, 1917. He was an old man, who had sat in the French Assembly which in 1871 had been forced to accept the humiliating terms dictated by Germany in the Treaty of Frankfort. He had shown wonderful energy and hopefulness during France's dark hour, and great coolness of judgment when the triumph came. Though all the allies were represented the chief influence rested inevitably with the five strongest powers—France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States of America and Japan. As Japan's interests were mainly concerned with Asia the most really powerful men were Clémenceau for France, President Woodrow Wilson for the United States, Lloyd George for Great Britain, and Orlando for Italy. These were known as the Big Four, and with them much more than with any others lies the responsibility for the terms of the Peace.

It is impossible as yet to speak of the Peace Settlement, for peace has not yet been concluded with all the Powers. Certain results are, however, assured. Germany pays an enormous indemnity. Belgium is independent once more. Alsace and Lorraine return to France to which their sympathies have always drawn them. The evil work that Frederick the Great, Catherine of Russia and Joseph and Francis of Austria accomplished in Poland is undone: she emerges again an independent state and takes her place as an equal with the other states of Europe. The work of the Hapsburgs is largely undone: the

nationalities of their great empire face the future as independent states. Italy pushes her frontier north and east so as to include all the "unredeemed" Italian population, and some who are not Italians. The Serbs (Southern Slavs as they will henceforth be known) form a large state that will perhaps play the leading rôle in Balkan history. It is too early to guess what will happen to the territories of Turkey. For three centuries her power has been decaying—slowly, almost imperceptibly at first—but of late with catastrophic rapidity. Never has she taken so great a plunge towards annihilation as during the last three years. It is certain that Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia will now feel the reviving influence of Western ideas in government, science and engineering.

Of Russia nothing can be said. It may be questioned whether any country has ever passed through such an agony of suffering and madness as she has known during the war. No outlines of any settlement are yet certain or even probable. But the gifts of her people as well as their great and rapidly increasing numbers make it certain that she will be a great factor in the future civilization of the world.

The course of history, as it settles certain problems, always raises others. During the course of the war it sometimes seemed as if in the settlement of that great controversy all lesser questions would be included. The great upheaval was, however, bound to leave behind it questions of the most serious and difficult kind; and the populations of the world find themselves faced with political, social and economic questions of the greatest gravity. We must not even glance at these; but the international outlook and prospect must be briefly alluded to.

At the beginning of the war it was declared by all parties to the struggle that the human race must not again be confronted with the sufferings and passions of these years; that this was a "war to end war"; and that some means must be found for the maintenance of permanent peace in Europe and in the world. These hopes crystallized during the course of the struggle in the proposal

of a League of Nations. England and America shared in the early discussions and in the recommendation of the idea to the consideration of statesmen. General approval was expressed by most ; definite hostility by none. But it may be doubted whether much would have come of it if it had not been taken up with enthusiasm by the American President, Woodrow Wilson. It was due largely to his advocacy that the Covenant of the League of Nations stands at the beginning of the Peace.

Twenty-seven nations have signed the Covenant. Thirteen others are invited to subscribe and will probably do so. Germany and the states allied with her in the recent war are not at present members, but it is intended that they shall become so. What is it that the signatories to the Covenant have promised ?

The civilized world is to receive an organization for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of the general interests of civilization. There is to be an Assembly in Terms of the which all members of the League are to be repre- Covenant. sented and an Executive Council consisting of representatives of the United States of America, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy and of Japan, together with four other members chosen by the Assembly of the League. These nine members must be unanimous before any decision can be taken by them. All who sign the League promise that they will submit any quarrel that may arise to arbitration or to the mediation of the Council.

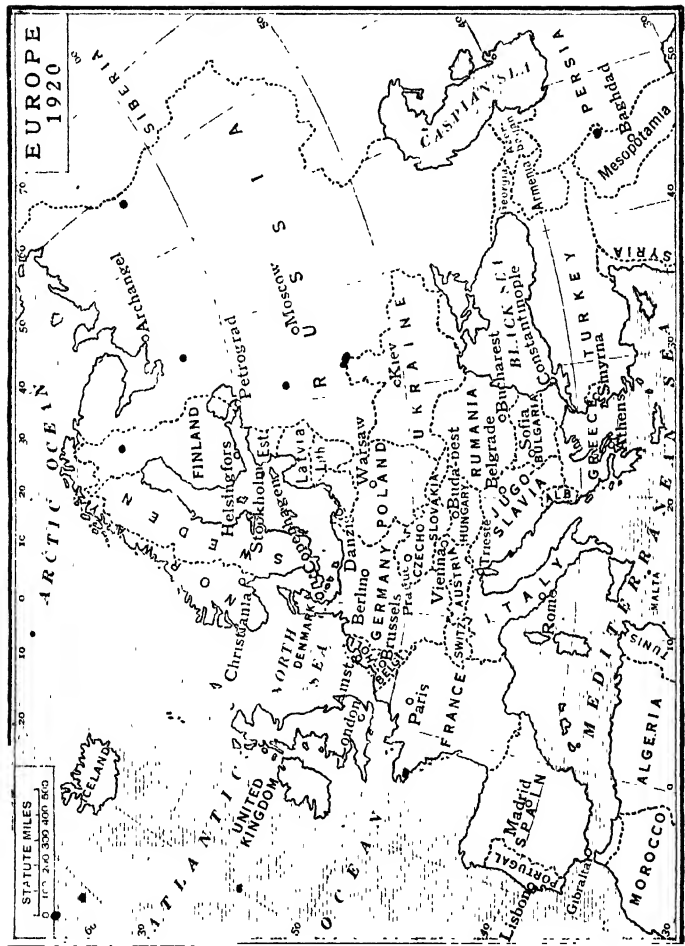
It is not a new world-state that is thus established ; but merely machinery for the maintenance of peace and for co-operation among existing states. There is no proposal as yet to establish a common army or navy. Some disappointment has been expressed by the enthusiastic advocates of the idea that a greater advance towards the organization of the civilized world has not been made. But the historian who knows something of the immense difficulties that surround international organization, who recalls the small success that attended the efforts made in Greece, in the middle ages, and in the nineteenth century for a similar end, may be glad that so much has been done. It was impossible that the new

world-order should come to life, like Athena, full-grown and fully armed to beat down all opposition. The task of those statesmen, who in serving their state desire to serve humanity, is henceforward to contribute to the growth and development of the League. If it lives and thrives, the hopes of men, which the war has seemed to kill, may grow once more bold and confident. If it fails, if the future is only to be "the past entered by another door," there seems no place for the dreamers and idealists, the poets and the prophets of mankind. If war is still to be the recurrent disease of Europe, as Frederick the Great called it, it bids fair, with the help of the means which science in its progress will place at its disposal, to destroy the civilization of Europe.

The study of history, especially a wide survey of the whole course of history, should banish both sentimental optimism and pessimism alike. It shows beyond the possibility of doubt that the nations and races of Europe, and in its later stages of the civilized world, have been joined by fate in a great partnership which cannot be dissolved, because it rests on the foundations of human nature and geography. When one member suffers all the other members suffer with it. The dreams of human unity, which have persisted and grown from the beginning of recorded history, present no problem which is in its nature insoluble. Despite the many adverse omens of the moment there is ground for hope that 1919 may not only mark the end of the Great War but the beginning of the Great Peace.

A Short History of the Great War by A. F. Pollard. Useful publications are *Chronology of the War* and *Chronology of the War Atlas*, both issued by the Ministry of Information.

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